The Papers of the
Bibliographical Society of America

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

—

THE BAKER & TAYLOR COMPANY
NEW YORK

THE CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS
LONDON

THE THOMAS C. LOTHIAN COMPANY
MELBOURNE

THE MARUZEN-KABUSHIKI-KAISHA
TOKYO, OSAKA, KYOTO, FUKUOKA, SENDAI

THE COMMERCIAL PRESS, LIMITED
SHANGHAI

The Papers of The Bibliographical Society of America

VOLUME TWENTY-EIGHT
1934

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS
CHICAGO · ILLINOIS

PUBLICATION COMMITTEE

JAMES B. CHILDS	Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
CARL B. RODEN	Chicago Public Library
ANDREW KEOGH	Yale University Library
H. H. B. MEYER	Library of Congress

The Society does not hold itself responsible for opinions expressed by contributors of papers

COPYRIGHT 1934 BY THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO. ALL RIGHTS RESERVED. PUBLISHED MAY 1934 AND NOVEMBER 1934
COMPOSED AND PRINTED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, U.S.A.

CONTENTS

Certain Writings of Benjamin Franklin on the British Empire . . . . . *Verner W. Crane* 1

James Adams: The First Printer of Delaware *Dorothy Lawson Hawkins* 28

"Gazette françoise," Newport, R.I., 1780–81 *Allen J. Barthold* 64

The "Relation of a Late Expedition to St. Augustine," with Biographical and Bibliographical Notes on Isaac and Edward Kimber . . . *Sidney A. Kimber* 81

Special Collections for the Study of History and Literature in the Southeast *Louis R. Wilson and R. B. Downs* 97

The Negro in Early American Songsters *S. Foster Damon* 132

Fleury Mesplet: Une Étude sur les Commencements de l'Imprimerie dans la Ville de Montréal *Aegidius Fauteux* 164

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2026

https://archive.org/details/bibliographical-society-of-america-papers_1934_28

CERTAIN WRITINGS OF BENJAMIN FRANKLIN ON THE BRITISH EMPIRE AND THE AMERICAN COLONIES

By VERNER W. CRANE

TO THE bibliographer as to the historian it is easily demonstrated that we stand in need of a new, enlarged, and critical edition of the writings of Benjamin Franklin. Since the appearance in 1905–6 of the *Life and writings*, edited in ten volumes by Albert Henry Smyth, there have come to light important manuscripts not available to that editor or to his predecessors. In successive editions, moreover, there have been perpetuated errors in text, in the dating of documents,[1] and the like, which in the interests of exact scholarship should be cleared away. Again, in at least one important province of Franklin's writing, his contributions to the propaganda of the American Revolution, no serious attempt has been made to determine the complete Franklin canon. This essay is the prospectus for a fuller survey, now in progress, of the political writings of Franklin during his two periods of residence in England as colonial agent: between 1757 and 1762, and from 1764 to 1775.

At the outset one is struck by the meager total of his acknowledged or identified writings on matters of immediate interest to him as a politician and as in some sense the accredited American "ambassador" in London: the problems, namely, of the reorganization of the Empire and of the rights of the North American colonists. At the most he has been identified, by his own acknowledgment or by other adequate evidence, as the author

[1] A conspicuous example is the letter of "A New Englandman" to the *London chronicle*, May 12, 1759. Bigelow printed it under 1769, and was followed by Smyth, although P. L. Ford, *Franklin bibliography* (1889), p. 283, had given the correct date.

of three pamphlets on these subjects, and of about twenty-five actually printed periodical essays. No great achievement, surely, for so practiced a journalist and pamphleteer, trained in the rough-and-ready school of provincial controversy.

Indeed, the paucity of Franklin's revealed contributions to the great debate was the subject of adverse contemporary comment. In 1766, when his political enemies at home were subjecting his somewhat obscure conduct in the affair of the Stamp Act to an outrageously unfair attack, the author of an anonymous libel in the *Pennsylvania journal*[2] made a capital point of his alleged silence in face of the threat to colonial liberties: "But why does not the Pennsylvania Agent write? He has leisure and a masterly pen; the question," he added, "was never answered."

An answer, however, was made in the following year with some supporting evidence. William Goddard, who in 1767 was set up as printer of the new *Pennsylvania chronicle* by Franklin's party in the province, in the early issues of his paper reprinted nine essays from the London newspapers of 1765–66, which were thus authoritatively identified as by Franklin; and he added that he omitted for lack of space "many other pieces of Dr. Franklin's on the same subject, which we doubt not would be equally agreeable to our readers with the foregoing."[3] The cat-

[2] *Pennsylvania journal*, Sept. 18, 1766.

[3] *Pennsylvania chronicle*, March 23, 1767 (I, no. 9). The printing of the Franklin pieces was prefaced, in the issue of Feb. 9 (I, no. 3), by the letter of "A Lover of Justice" replying to the attacks on Franklin in the *Journal* and elsewhere. Other testimony to Franklin's activity, in the press as well as in the lobbies, was given by William Strahan in a letter to David Hall, Jan. 11, 1766 (*Pa. mag. of hist.*, X, 92); by Dr. John Fothergill to James Pemberton, Feb. 27, 1766 (Hist. Soc. of Pa., Penn papers, official corresp., X, 35); and by Fothergill and Hinton Brown to Pemberton, Apr. 8, 1766 (Hist. Soc. of Pa., Pemberton papers, XXXIV, 142). A list of the essays reprinted and specifically identified by Goddard follows:

Feb. 16, 1767 (I, no. 4):
"F. B.," from *Gazetteer*, Dec. 19, 1765
"F. B.," from *ibid.*, Dec. 27, 1765
"N. N.," from *ibid.*, Dec. 28, 1765

[Footnote continued on opposite page.]

alogue of Franklin's political pieces in the British press is more than doubled by a memorandum found among the Franklin MSS (Stevens collection, Library of Congress), listing such essays as were identified by Goddard on this occasion, and also some eleven others which Franklin himself identified from the files of Goddard's paper through June, 1769. Smyth made use of this list, but reprinted only a part of these essays; two which he omitted are of greater interest than any that he included with the exception of the "Causes of the American discontents."[4] Nor did Smyth examine the London newspapers in an

---

Feb. 23, 1767 (I, no. 5):
"Pacificus secundus," from *Public advertiser*, Jan. 2, 1766. Smyth (ed.), *Writings*, IV, 393–95
"Homespun," from *Gazetteer*, Jan. 2, 1766. Smyth (ed.), *op. cit.*, IV, 395–97.

March 9, 1767 (I, no. 7):
"N. N.," from *Gazetteer*, Jan. 11, 1766
"F. B.," from *ibid.*, Jan. 14, 1766. Smyth (ed.), *op. cit.*, IV, 397–98.

March 23, 1767 (I, no. 9):
"Homespun," from *Gazetteer*, Jan. 15, 1766. Part in Smyth (ed.), *op. cit.*, IV, 398–99
"F. B.," from [?], [date?]. Reprinted under date of March 23, 1767, in Smyth (ed.), *op. cit.*, V, 14–16

[4] These unfortunate omissions were "A friend to both countries" and "Benevolus," both reprinted from the *London chronicle*, from the issues, respectively, of Apr. 9 and 11, 1767. Each was also reprinted in other American papers (see *Newport mercury*, June 29, 1767, and *New York mercury*, June 22, 1767, for the first; and for the second, *Boston evening post*, June 22, 1767, and *Virginia gazette* (Purdie and Dixon), June 25, 1767). A draft of the former is in the American Philosophical Society, Franklin MSS, L (ii), 12. The "Benevolus" essay, one of Franklin's best arguments against the propriety of American taxation, is an important link between his writings against the Stamp Act and his later propaganda. It supplies valuable clues pointing strongly to his authorship of anonymous pamphlets of 1766 and 1768. Interesting light on the occasion for the writing of these essays is furnished by a letter from Franklin to Galloway of April 14, 1767 (MS, William L. Clements Library): "I have written several Papers to abate a little if possible the Animosity stirr'd up against us, and flatter myself they may be attended with some Success. I have taken that Method to answer all the groundless Charges, and State aright all the mistaken Facts that I heard urged in the Debates at the House of Lords, thô I durst not mention those Debates. I send you some of them. They have been reprinted here in several of the Newspapers." The writer, obviously Franklin, of a letter from London of April 11, printed in the *Pennsylvania chronicle*, June 8, 1767, described the debate in the Lords in language echoed by "Benevolus." Smyth also omitted the most striking part of the letter signed "New England," reprinted from the *Gazetteer*

attempt to make independent discoveries of new Franklin essays. But Paul Leicester Ford in his *Franklin bibliography* went a step farther. He seems to have guessed that a large part of Franklin's political writing was still obscurely buried in the English newspapers and periodicals. He scanned the *Gentleman's magazine*, the *Political register*, and the *London chronicle*, the latter unfortunately in an incomplete file. Evidently he made no first-hand examination of the London daily press. Regrettably, too, he gave slight indication of the evidence for his ascriptions.[5] Even yet no study has been made in a fashion to document Ford's hypothesis. Hinkhouse, whose monograph, *The preliminaries of the American Revolution as seen in the English press, 1763–1775*, provides a useful guide to a mass of propaganda on both sides of the quarrel, thought it probable that the list of Franklin signatures which he drew from Smyth's edition did not "contain all that Franklin used"; but on the whole concluded that the problem of pseudonymity was nearly insoluble.[6]

Without discounting in any degree the difficulties pictured by this writer, and often rightly urged against uncritical attempts at the attribution of authorship, one may yet ask whether it is not worth while to attempt to penetrate these veils of anonymity and pseudonymity. It is reasonable to suppose that they

---

in the *Pennsylvania chronicle*, Dec. 12, 1768 (*Writings*, V, 110–11). From the omitted portion it appears that Franklin was here intervening, adroitly, in the campaign of Alderman Trecothick for Parliament. For an attack on Trecothick as disqualified by his Boston residence, see "No Bostonian" in *London chronicle*, XXIII (Feb. 6, 1768), 127. A first draft of "New England" is in Amer. Phil. Soc., Franklin MSS, L (ii), 59.

[5] See P. L. Ford, *Franklin bibliography*, pp. 283–89. Ford's chief additions to the Franklin canon of political essays are the two "F. B." essays from the *Gentleman's mag.*, XXXVIII (Nov., 1768), 513–15, 555–56, which he apparently did not locate in the *London chronicle*, XXIV (Nov. 3 and Dec. 6, 1768), 428–29, 541; "A. Z." in *ibid.*, Dec. 27, 1759; "F. B." in *ibid.*, Apr. 9, 1767. The last was apparently one of the essays sent by Franklin to Galloway with his letter of Apr. 14, 1767; it was reprinted in the *Pennsylvania chronicle*, June 8, 1767, but not listed by Franklin in his memorandum (Stevens-Franklin MSS, Library of Congress). On the genesis of this item see below, nn. 38, 39.

[6] Fred J. Hinkhouse, *The preliminaries of the American Revolution as seen in the English press* (New York, 1926), p. 19.

conceal a considerable body of polemical writing, in pamphlets as well as in newspapers, which for one reason or another Franklin did not care to father in the difficult political temper of the time. The attempt will be justified if it yields even a few new essays which can be traced with certainty to such a master of political debate; and in double measure if the quest should throw light upon the evolution of Franklin's political ideas.

An essential preliminary to any such enterprise, however, is a more critical examination of the present canon of Franklin's political writings during his agencies in England. This is the more urgent as serious doubts have been raised concerning his share in the writing of one of his earliest essays on imperial matters, the so-called "Canada pamphlet" of 1760. The tract in question, once thoroughly authenticated, will be found to furnish one important key to unlock those dark cabinets in which repose his unacknowledged essays. Moreover, in the case of another of the three known pamphlets in this category, it is possible to add an unrecognized edition which has features of distinct bibliographical interest.

I

In April, 1760, there was published in London by T. Becket the first edition of *The interest of Great Britain considered, with regard to her colonies, and the acquisitions of Canada and Guadaloupe. To which are added, Observations concerning the increase of mankind, peopling of countries, &c.* With an earlier pamphlet usually attributed to John Douglas—*A letter addressed to two great men, on the prospect of peace*—this essay contributed the most persuasive arguments that were heard in favor of Continental acquisitions in America during the course of the famous Canada versus Guadaloupe controversy.[7] While it is doubtful that *The interest of Great Britain* determined that Canada should be British,

[7] W. L. Grant, "Canada vs. Guadaloupe," *Amer. Hist. Rev.*, XVII, 735–43; C. W. Alvord, *Miss. Valley in British politics*, II (1917), 253–64 (Bibliog.).

there is evidence that the pamphlet created much contemporary interest. A second London edition appeared in the following year. Meanwhile, in 1760 the pamphlet had been reprinted in Dublin, in Philadelphia by William Bradford, and in Boston in two editions by Franklin's nephew, Benjamin Mecom, who on his title-pages named "the very ingenious, useful, and worthy Author": B.....n F.....n, LL.D.[8]

The record of the dealings with this pamphlet by editors and bibliographers reveals a curious transition from early certainty of Franklin's authorship to doubt and almost hopeless confusion. Even now, nearly a decade after the matter was canvassed in the authoritative paper by Dr. I. Minis Hays,[9] it is possible to find in catalogues and bibliographies all the old errors and contradictions. For this reason, and also because Dr. Hays overlooked certain items of evidence which greatly strengthen his case for the sole responsibility of Franklin, it is well to restate the problem and redefine the solution.

First ascribed to Franklin in the Boston reprints of 1760, the Canada pamphlet was also included in the collection of Franklin's *Political, miscellaneous, and philosophical Pieces* (London, 1779), which was compiled by Benjamin Vaughan in England under supervision from Paris of Franklin. In the "Errata" contributed by Franklin, as in his contemporary correspondence with the editor,[10] he took no exception to the inclusion of this

[8] Besides these well-known editions of *The interest of Great Britain* listed by P. L. Ford, Sabin, etc., there is a perplexing reference, half-a-dozen years later, to another so-called "second edition." At just the time when Franklin was recasting the arguments of the Canada pamphlet to fit the propaganda for the repeal of the Stamp Act, there was advertised in the *London chronicle*, XIX (Jan. 16, 1766), 51, as "this Day .... published," "The Second Edition, of the Interest of Great Britain considered. .... Printed for T. Becket, and P. A. DeHondt."

[9] "On the authorship of the anonymous pamphlet published in London in 1760 entitled 'The interest of Great Britain .....'," *Proceedings* of the Amer. Phil. Soc., LXIII (1924), 1–9.

[10] On the "Errata" see Benjamin Franklin to Benjamin Vaughan, Nov. 9, 1779, in Smyth (ed.), *op. cit.*, VII, 410.

essay as his work. To be sure, Vaughan in his "Addenda" remarked that "Dr. Franklin has often been heard to say, that in writing this pamphlet, he received considerable assistance from a learned friend, who was not willing to be named." The friend in question was later identified by William Temple Franklin as Richard Jackson, lawyer and joint agent with Franklin for Pennsylvania, sometimes called, for his great erudition, "Omniscient" Jackson.[11] But neither the statement of Vaughan nor that of W. T. Franklin can by proper implication be construed as an assertion of Jackson's actual literary collaboration.

The waters were muddied, however, when it was recalled that on the occasion of Vaughan's republication of the pamphlet another distinguished lawyer, Francis Maseres, had by inference claimed for Jackson a major share; he had marked in the margins, it was said, those passages which he believed were written by Franklin, and these were found to make up only about one-third of the tract.[12] This claim of Maseres has been accepted uncritically in several quarters. Paul Leicester Ford, to be sure, thought that it was overweighed by other evidence,[13] but neither he nor Dr. Hays directly attacked the story. Yet it is a first principle of historical criticism that the competence of the witness should be established. No evidence has appeared that Maseres was acquainted with the circumstances of the writing of the piece in 1760. It is another sound principle that such testimony should be strictly contemporaneous. A period of nineteen years is a fairly long time for even an informed witness to remember so exactly the division of literary labors between the two alleged collaborators. The compiler of the *Brinley sale catalogue* went so far as to reverse the rôles of author and counselor

[11] W. T. Franklin (ed.), *Memoir of the life and writings of Benjamin Franklin* (new ed., 1833), I, 307. On Jackson see *Dict. of nat. biog.*, X, 541–42.

[12] Neither Ford (*op. cit.*, p. 117) nor Smyth (ed.) (*op. cit.*, I, 138), who give the Maseres story in slightly varying versions, cites the original source.

[13] *Op. cit.*, p. 117.

as described by Vaughan: "It was written by Richard Jackson," he said, "who, probably, was assisted by Franklin in its preparation."[14] Smyth was also impressed, but took middle ground. He reprinted *The interest of Great Britain* without reservation among Franklin's writings, but in his memoir of Franklin he described it as "the joint production of Benjamin Franklin and Richard Jackson." "Their relative shares in the work" he thought were "now impossible to determine."[15] The historian Clarence W. Alvord, usually critical to a degree, accepted the Maseres tradition at full value.[16]

On the other side of the scale Dr. Hays placed the fact that several contemporaries in England and America, including persons to whom Franklin had evidently communicated copies of the pamphlet, considered that he was the author.[17] The most impressive contemporary testimony was not, however, known to Dr. Hays at the time he constructed his argument. It was afterward communicated to him, but has not hitherto been printed. Among the Franklin-Galloway letters in the library of Mr. William Smith Mason, in Evanston, Illinois, is a letter from William Franklin to Joseph Galloway of June 16, 1760, in which he refers to the "Pamphlet wrote by my Father in Answer to the Remarks on the Letter to Two Great Men." The letter throws further interesting light on several of the participants in the current controversy. This testimony by itself will seem to most persons decisive, though in some minds may still lurk the sus-

[14] Part II, p. 70. Charles R. Hildeburn (*Issues of the Pennsylvania press*, I [1885], 350) asserted that the pamphlet was written at Franklin's instance by Richard Jackson. Sabin (*Bibliotheca Americana*, IX, 184) listed the tract under Jackson, adding that Franklin "considerably aided in this work."

[15] *Op. cit.*, I, xii, 138.

[16] *Op. cit.*, I, 58.

[17] To the contemporary opinions that he cited may be added here that of the anonymous English author of *An examination into the value of Canada and Guadaloupe: . . . . in answer to a late pamphlet, entitled, The interest of Great Britain* (London: William White, 1761), who was evidently pointing at Franklin—certainly not at the Englishman Jackson—when he professed, on p. [i], to admire his antagonist "as a worthy citizen aiming at the good of HIS country. . . . ."

picion that William Franklin, like his father, was suppressing the fact of Jackson's collaboration.

Franklin himself, in one way or another, several times laid claim to the authorship of *The interest of Great Britain* without mentioning a collaborator; most directly, of course, in his outline of the proposed continuation of the autobiography.[18] Another claim by Franklin has never been fully revealed. Smyth, to be sure, noted that on the flyleaf of a copy of the first London edition in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania appears the inscription: "To the Rev^{d} Dr. Mayhew from his humble Serv^{t} The Author"; but did not explicitly point out that this inscription is in the undoubted handwriting of Benjamin Franklin.[19] It is also curious that this copy has for years been catalogued under the sole author-entry of Richard Jackson.

There is an impressive body of internal evidence which again points clearly toward Franklin's authorship.[20] It does not, to be sure, quite close the door against a partial collaboration by Richard Jackson; while Franklin's own claims, direct and indirect, might be attributed to a variety of motives. There re-

[18] Bigelow (ed.), *Works*, I, 28. Dr. Hays quoted the significant passage in Franklin to Lord Kames, May 3, 1760; see Smyth (ed.), *op. cit.*, IV, 11–12. It is also noteworthy that when Franklin received from his other great Scottish acquaintance, David Hume, criticisms of alleged Americanisms in the tract, he replied in a tone of self-justification or apology. It is true that two of the solecisms appeared in the appended "Observations," unquestionably Franklin's; but the third was in the text of the main pamphlet (*ibid.*, pp. 83–84).

[19] The association copy is catalogued "Api 134."

[20] Dr. Hays did not miss the significance of the inclusion with the Canada tract of Franklin's "Observations concerning the increase of mankind, peopling of countries, &c." This essay was first printed five years earlier as an addendum to Dr. William Clark's *Observations on the late and present conduct of the French.* It should also be observed that passages from Clark's own pamphlet were quoted in footnotes in *The interest of Great Britain.* In the other direction, the 1760 tract itself was frequently drawn upon by Franklin for materials and even phrasing in his later writings. One instance must suffice. "The waves do not rise but when the winds blow," wrote the pamphleteer in 1760; and in 1768 Franklin prefaced his essay, usually called "The causes of the American discontents," with a proverb: "The waves never rise but when the winds blow."

main, fortunately, stronger proofs, which, with the William Franklin letter, remove all doubts.

One of these, and an impressive one, was brought forward by Dr. Hays, but his statement of it requires a slight modification. Among the Franklin MSS in the American Philosophical Society he discovered six manuscript pages[21] which he identified as scattered fragments of a draft, in Franklin's hand, with his own corrections and alterations, of certain pages in *The interest of Great Britain*. These folios are numbered. By an ingenious argument based upon the folio numbers and their word count, in relation to the corresponding pagination of the pamphlet, and upon a comparison of Franklin's and Jackson's hands, he reached the well-justified conclusion that the whole draft must have been in Franklin's handwriting. He further argued, plausibly, that Franklin was not the man to copy laboriously with his own pen the manuscript of a collaborator in order to incorporate it with his own. At one point he was certainly in error: one of the folios, No. 7, is not copy for *The interest of Great Britain*, though it closely resembles the other folios in appearance, but was possibly part of the manuscript of an intended pamphlet of 1766.[22] The draft of the 1760 tract is, then, reduced to five folios, but the force of the argument is hardly impaired. For some reason, however, Hays's article seems to have missed of its effect. His finding of the fragmentary draft must nevertheless be regarded as of great value for Franklin bibliography.

A similar importance may perhaps be claimed for the discovery of another document not hitherto brought into the discussion. Among the numerous pamphlets preserved from Franklin's own library[23] in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania is

[21] Amer. Phil. Soc., Franklin MSS, L (ii), 13. These were numbered at the bottom of each folio, 7, 43, 45, 53, 58, 67.

[22] See below, n. 39.

[23] On Franklin's library, and on the present location of Franklin's copies of the controversial pamphlets of this period, some of which contain his annotations, see George Simpson Eddy, "Dr. Benjamin Franklin's library," Amer. Antiq. Soc. *Proceedings*,

the tract, attributed to William Burke, to which *The interest of Great Britain* was a direct reply. This was entitled *Remarks on the letter address'd to two great men: in a letter to the author of that piece* (London: R. and J. Dodsley [1760]). Franklin's copy is annotated in his own hand; unfortunately, the binder ruthlessly cut the margins and reduced some of the marginalia to unintelligibility. Enough remain to indicate clearly that here is the first sketch for Franklin's reply.

The annotations are of two sorts. Certain passages are underscored or marked by lines, often with the letter *I*, obviously an abbreviation for *The interest of Great Britain*, written in the margin. In these instances a corresponding passage of rebuttal is to be found in *The interest of Great Britain*, usually with the indicated matter in the *Remarks* quoted or paraphrased. The annotations of the second type are fuller commentaries on the text—clearly memoranda for Franklin's rejoinder.[24]

N.S., XXXIV, 206–26. Jared Sparks first recognized the documentary value of Franklin's marginalia, and reproduced some of them in his *Works of Benjamin Franklin*, Vol. IV, unhappily with a number of errors and confusions. Bigelow's text is also incomplete and not quite reliable. Smyth found these marginalia "crude and fragmentary" and relegated "whatever is valuable among them," as he thought, to his last volume (see *op. cit.*, IV, v, prefatory note). Actually, they are indispensable to the student who seeks to trace the real workings of Franklin's mind on imperial politics before the Revolution. No adequate use had yet been made of them, though B. Faÿ, in *Franklin: the apostle of modern times* (1929), pp. 528–29, professes to have based his description "of Franklin's attitude towards England and the British Empire . . . . largely" on the unpublished marginalia. But where, one wonders, has M. Faÿ really described that attitude? Franklin's notes in one pamphlet are faithfully reproduced in *Pa. mag. of hist.*, XXV, 307–22, 516–26; XXVI, 81–90, 255–64.

[24] Two illustrations of the second type of annotations follow. Others have been omitted for lack of space and because in many cases the mutilation of the margins has too seriously broken their continuity, though in most instances enough is left to make certain the connection between commentary and text. The page references for *The interest of Great Britain* are to the text in Smyth (ed.), *op. cit.*, IV, 32–82.

Remarks, p. 25, margin: "We should not have had so long a Peace with Holland if it ha[d] not been for the Cession of [*cut*]." *Interest*, pp. 40–41, "Happy it prov'd to both nations, that the Dutch were prevailed on finally to cede the New Netherlands (now the province of New York) to us at the peace of 1674; a peace that has ever since continued

While the marginalia in this pamphlet are not so extensive as in several other of the controversial tracts[25] which he owned, yet on close scrutiny it appears that they furnish clues of one sort or another to nearly the whole of the disputed Canada tract. If one regards as a unit from the standpoint of authorship those paragraphs in which there is a clear sequence of ideas and of literary development, and if one further assigns positively to Franklin, as one must, all those passages which are found in the extant folios of his manuscript draft, there remains only one questionable passage of any length—the discussion of the penetration of trade into Russia and of the medieval trade routes from Asia—and even this is fairly closely tied to the Franklin text as established by his notes. Save for this dubious possibility that he wrote at most three or four pages, Richard Jackson vanishes as putative part-author. Certainly all of the distinctly American part of the discussion—more likely the whole pamphlet—was planned and actually written by Benjamin Franklin.

II

Three pamphlets,[26] including this one, have hitherto been included in the canon of Franklin's political writings on the Empire and American rights. For the original appearance of the

---

between us, but must have been frequently disturbed, if they had retained the possession of that country. . . . ."

Remarks, p. 50, margin: "Is not this telling the French that the Murders they perpetrate are agreable to us. [*Added later:*] No wonder you do not speak out." *Interest*, pp. 75–76: 'Tis no wonder he thought it a 'subject not fit for discussion' in his letter, though he recommends it as 'a point that should be the constant object of the minister's attention!' But if Canada is restored on this principle, will not Britain be guilty of all the blood to be shed, all the murders to be committed, in order to check this dreaded growth of our own people? Will not this be telling the French in plain terms, that the horrid barbarities they perpetrate with their Indians on our colonists are agreeable to us . . . .?"

[25] See nn. 23, 46, 51.

[26] From this enumeration I have omitted the Ohio land-company tracts (see Ford, *op. cit.*, pp. 139–40, 147); and Franklin's prefaces, both to the English edition of the *Letters from a farmer in Pennsylvania* (London: J. Almon, 1768) and to *The votes and*

second, the famous report of his *Examination* before the House of Commons, he was apparently not himself responsible, and he pronounced it "imperfect."[27] The third, generally known as "The causes of the American discontents before 1768," is not properly listed as a pamphlet, so far as previous bibliographical information is concerned. No independent pamphlet issue has yet been noted. First published over the signature "F+S.," but without title, in the *London chronicle* of January 7, 1768,[28] it was avowedly an attempt "to palliate matters" for the Bostonians. On the whole moderate and propitiatory, it contained an attack upon the alleged incapacity and misrule of colonial governors, which no doubt was directed especially against Governor Bernard of Massachusetts. Its tone was less sharp toward the Grenvillites than Franklin had intended. To his son, William Franklin, he complained that in printing it the editor of the *Chronicle*, Griffith Jones, probably "a Grenvillian," "has drawn the teeth and pared the nails of my paper, so that it can neither scratch nor bite. It seems only to paw and mumble."[29] In this censored version it was reprinted in the *Gentleman's magazine* of January, 1768, under the running head: "The cause of the present discontent in America."[30] It was widely copied in American newspapers from one or other of these sources;[31] and appeared again in London as a postscript to a pamphlet, *The true sentiments of America* (London: Almon, 1768); it was included by Vaughan in his 1779 collection, and by later editors.

---

proceedings of the freeholders and other inhabitants of the town of Boston (London: J. Wilkie, 1773); as also the broadside [Plan for benefitting distant unprovided countries]. "The rules for reducing a great empire" is also omitted, as not separately issued until 1793.

[27] Benjamin Franklin to Lord Kames, Apr. 11, 1767, in Smyth (ed.), *op. cit.*, V, 16. On the editions see Ford, *op. cit.*, pp. 127–33.

[28] XXIII, 17–18.

[29] Smyth (ed.), *op. cit.*, V, 90.

[30] XXXVIII, 11–13.

[31] *Boston gazette*, Apr. 18, 1768; *Boston evening post*, Apr. 18, 1768; *Newport mercury*, Apr. 25, 1768; *Pennsylvania chronicle*, Apr. 25, 1768; *New York journal*, Apr. 28, 1768.

The discovery of an unrecognized pamphlet edition of this well-known and often quoted essay, perhaps the most famous contribution by Franklin, after the *Examination*, to the propaganda of the American Revolution, is, then, something of a bibliographical event. It acquires a further piquancy from the fact that the edition in question is not excessively rare, has been listed in many catalogues, but through an amusing blunder by an early cataloguer has hitherto masqueraded under the supposititious authorship of none other than the royal governor of Massachusetts, Francis Bernard.

Indeed, the whole episode of the reappearance of "The causes of the American discontents" in 1774 is a bibliographical curiosity. It raises questions difficult to answer in any reasonable fashion. Why should Franklin have revived his essay of 1768, without revising the original manuscript, when so much water had gone by the mill? How did he succeed in inducing the *London chronicle*, grown less hospitable with the years to American propaganda, to print it now in its full anti-Grenvillian vigor? For it was in the *Chronicle*, of August 30 and September 1, 1774,[32] that it appeared, and apparently in the form in which Franklin had first written it in 1768. Again it was printed without title, but now with Franklin's familiar inverted signature, "F.B." Again it was given further circulation, in an abbreviated form, in the *Gentleman's magazine* of September, 1774,[33] under the caption of "An authentic account of the rise of the present ill-humour in America." Sometime in the same year it was reprinted in full in pamphlet form by an American printer as *The causes of the present distractions in America explained: in two letters to a merchant in London*. By F..... B..... Printed in the Year 1774. Sabin, and Halkett and Laing, attributed this publication to a Boston press; Evans, to James Rivington in New York. All of these lists, however, with the catalogues of the British Museum, Harvard College Library, Library of

[32] XXXVI, 205–6, 212. [33] XLIV, 413–16.

Congress, the William L. Clements Library, and the Newberry Library have agreed that the initials F..... B..... stood for Francis Bernard. It is time, surely, to right this wrong—from which Sir Francis Bernard would, no doubt, have suffered more acutely than Benjamin Franklin.

III

For Franklin, at least in his capacity of propagandist, was able to sink the pride of authorship under weightier considerations of prudence, both personal and partisan. It was an age of anonymity in political controversy; and Franklin had special reasons for disguising his intervention in the political debates of his later period of residence in England. In the first place, he was not only agent for several provinces, but at the same time joint deputy postmaster-general for the colonies. This was a crown office which he valued, and which might be forfeited by unseemly diligence in public disputation. Moreover, his petition for turning out the Penns and setting up royal government in Pennsylvania was a delicate business, for which influence must be carefully nursed. He was also a private suppliant for other favors in the great Ohio land scheme. On more than one occasion he warned correspondents in America to whom he unbosomed himself on his views of imperial politics that these confidences must be closely guarded. It is also true, no doubt, that he was shrewdly aware that his arguments for American rights would gain in effect if they seemed to come from a less interested source; on occasion he posed in his essays as an Englishman, with neither kinsfolk nor property across the sea.

At the present stage in the development of this study, when but a part of the newspapers have been inspected, it is possible to indicate only the methods by which the problem of identifying Franklin's unacknowledged political essays in pamphlet and newspaper may be attacked—and by way of illustration to exhibit a few of the results.

One hopeful approach is through the use of the known Franklin pseudonyms.[34] Some of these, to be sure, were invented for the occasion and not afterward used. Others were hackneyed signatures, employed by more than one writer, and hence by themselves unsafe clues. A residue, however, furnish characteristic indications of Franklin's work, and, when supported by the internal evidence of ideas and phraseology elsewhere discoverable in Franklin, may be regarded as fixing his authorship. In the memorandum of pieces reprinted in the *Pennsylvania chronicle*, "F+S." appeared once, "F. B." twice, "N. N." three times. Each was possibly a play upon his initials, just as "Francis Lynn," in the letter addressed to Thomas Crowley in 1768, was a play upon his name.[35] "F.+S." possibly stood, as Benjamin Vaughan surmised, for "F[ranklin's] S[eal]."[36] His initials reversed made "F. B." Although "N. N." is a common pseudonym with a classical origin and meaning, it is at least curious to observe that it formed the last letters of his first and last names.

A partial inspection of the files of those London newspapers for which Franklin was known to write on American matters has already turned up several essays in which these same initial signatures were used. Some weeks before the essay usually called "The causes of the American discontents" was printed, the signature "F+S." had already been signed by Franklin to a hitherto unrecognized letter in the same journal, the *London chronicle*.[37] This was written in the character of "an Old Eng-

[34] See the list, not a complete one, in Ford, *op. cit.*, pp. 307, 309.

[35] *Public advertiser*, Oct. 24, 1768; reprinted in *Pennsylvania chronicle*, Feb. 6, 1769, and from that paper in Smyth (ed.), *op. cit.*, V, 166–68.

[36] [Benjamin Vaughan (ed.)], *Political, miscellaneous, and philosophical pieces* (1779), p. 245.

[37] XXII (Dec. 15, 1767), 575. A third appearance of the same curious signature is in a draft of a letter to the *London chronicle*, replying to "A Portugal Merchant" (*ibid.*, XXIII [Apr. 28, 1768], 401). The latter had taken exception to a passage in Franklin's "Causes." Apparently this essay was not printed. The draft is in Amer. Phil. Soc., Franklin MSS, L (i), 9.

land Man" to acquit the colonies of the charge of an unhealthy climate and, in a shrewdly inserted digression, which was probably the true *raison d'être* of the essay, to combat the suspicion that the Americans were seeking to throw off their allegiance to Great Britain.

"F. B.," it has been seen, was substituted by Franklin for the earlier signature when "The causes of the American discontents" was revived in 1774. Another Franklin essay over the same transposed initials was recognized by Paul Leicester Ford in the *London chronicle* of April 9, 1767.[38] This item has a further bibliographical interest not before understood. A number of drafts in the Franklin papers, now somewhat scattered, but which a comparison of paper, ink, writing, etc., shows belong together, reveal that the quotation which the letter of "F. B." contains, attacking governors and other crown officers in America for their misrepresentation of the colonists, was salvaged by Franklin from a longer manuscript of his own, written in 1766, which was clearly copy for a hitherto unknown Stamp Act pamphlet—a pamphlet which, however, was probably not published.[39] Of this pamphlet "F. B." remarked in his printed let-

[38] XXI, 343; reprinted in the *Pennsylvania chronicle*, June 8, 1767, but not listed in the Franklin memorandum in the Library of Congress, though two other Franklin essays reprinted in the same number are listed. A draft of the introductory paragraph is in Amer. Phil. Soc., Franklin MSS, L, 9.

[39] Eight folios can be certainly identified: six in a revised draft, two in what seems to be a first draft, with some overlapping of the two states of the manuscript. The revised draft has folio numbers at the foot of the sheets. The reconstruction is as follows:

FIRST DRAFT	REVISED DRAFT
	L (ii), 31: fol. 9
	[*Gap:* fol. 10, 11, 12]
	L (ii), 31*a:* fol. 13
	L (ii), 31*b:* fol. 14
	L (ii), 31*c:* fol. 15
	[*Gap:* fol. 16]
L (ii), 30*a*	L (ii), 31*d:* fol. 17
L (ii), 27	L (ii), 31*e:* fol. 18

The first draft, a fragment, is continuous, and contains some matter not covered in the second draft as now reconstituted. There is a further possibility that L(ii), 13, which is numbered fol. 7, and closely resembles L (ii), 31, in paper, ink, handwriting, etc., is an earlier sheet of the second draft of this paper. Dr. Hays mistakenly included it in the manuscript draft of *The interest of Great Britain*. The passage quoted by "F. B." in

ter: "It was written here at the time of our last year's disputes, by one who had lived long in America, knew the people and their affairs extremely well—and was equally well acquainted with the temper and practices of government officers." An examination of the manuscript draft of the letter of "F. B." shows, by the numerous corrections of this passage, that Franklin was at some pains to make the testimonial of "F. B." to himself impressive but not too vainglorious.[40]

Of all the recognized pseudonyms, "N. N." seems to have been Franklin's favorite. Besides the three essays listed in his own memorandum, four others have been found which bear this signature. Two of them were merely letters communicating American documents for publication,[41] but the other two were substantial essays of real quality. In November, 1770, "N. N." addressed to the *London chronicle* "a particular account of the rise and present state of the misunderstanding with the Ameri-

---

the *London chronicle*, Apr. 9, 1767, is in L (ii), 30*a*, 27, and 31*e*, but runs on beyond the text of the drafts. That the essay was intended for pamphlet publication is suggested by the language of the introductory paragraph of the 1767 letter as originally drafted (L, 9): "I wish you would give the Publick the follow[in]g Extract from a Pamphlet written by an ingenious Gentleman of America, during the late Disputes. . . . ." In the *Chronicle*, "Letter" was substituted for "Pamphlet," and "last year's disputes" for "late Disputes." Another fragment, "Plan of the Pamph[let]" in L (ii), 13*v*, is quite possibly the scheme for this essay. The reconstructed tract I have not yet been able to identify with any actually printed pamphlet. The repeal of the Stamp Act, which brought a temporary end to much of the pamphlet debate, may have led Franklin to withhold it.

[40] See reference to the author quoted in last note from the draft, L, 9. Among a number of phrases struck out was also this: "I own his good Opinion of them [has] its Weight with me." Franklin on other occasions seems to have quoted himself with approval: see the instance in "The colonist's advocate" (1770) cited below, n. 51.

[41] *London chronicle*, XIX (Jan. 9 and 11, 1766), 29, 37, contains a letter from "N. N." communicating (*a*) Boston town-meeting instructions, Sept. 19, 1765; (*b*) Braintree instructions, Sept. 24, 1765; (*c*) "Extract from the second book of Machiavell's Discourses on Livy, ch. xxiii." In *ibid.*, XXVII (Feb. 8, 1770), 129, "N. N." pictured from certain Massachusetts documents of Pownall's time the good relations which had then existed between governor and assembly, to acquit the Massachusetts people of the charge that they were incorrigibly "quarrelsome, factious, averse to government."

can colonies."[42] The more interesting of these new finds was an essay communicated by "N. N." to the *Public advertiser* of January 30, 1770. It was entitled "A conversation between an Englishman, a Scotchman, and an American, on the subject of slavery." Prompted by Granville Sharp's recent book,[43] it was an adroit attempt to turn the force of Sharp's criticism of a people who, while clamoring for liberty, played the tyrant over their slaves. With all of Franklin's skill in shifting the ground of the argument, it passed from a plea of avoidance for the northern colonies and a half-hearted apology for the slaveholders to an attack upon the "slavery" suffered at home by the Scottish coal miners and by British soldiers and sailors. Described by "N. N." as a real conversation, "having myself been present when it passed," it was not improbably the dressed-up report of one of Franklin's own coffee-house debates.

Another pseudonym less obviously Franklin's was certified to by William Goddard in 1767. In the Stamp Act controversy, he said, Franklin had written as "A Virginian," "in answer to some Reflections on that Colony and Maryland."[44] Two essays by "A Virginian" have been found in *Lloyd's evening post* of September 2 and 11, 1765, which fit Goddard's description and bear other strong marks of Franklin's composition. One is of no little significance since in a postscript it raises—in characteristic Socratic fashion—the questions of the right of emigration and of the status of the charters as compacts. "Now if these charters can be made void by an Act of Parliament," "A Virginian" asks, "will that very Act destroy the Compact by which they became subjects?" This squints, surely, at radical doctrine—radical,

[42] XXVIII (Nov. 8, 1770), 441–2. This was chiefly a defense of the motives of the American non-importation agreements, with a candid admission of their partial breakdown, and an appeal for lenient measures to heal the wound. There is an incomplete draft in L (ii), 3.

[43] *A representation of the injustice . . . . of tolerating slavery* (1769).

[44] *Pennsylvania chronicle*, I, no. 9 (March 23, 1767).

that is, for 1765, and especially radical for the supposedly cautious and pragmatic Franklin.

Goddard's identifications were likely based upon information from Franklin himself. William Franklin made what was certainly a guess, but a shrewd one, when he wrote to his father in January, 1769, that he had seen "a Number of Pieces in the Chronicle which I am sure have you for their Author, particularly Two sign'd *A Briton*, and one signed F. B."[45] The "Briton" letters exhibit very close parallels with both earlier and later private letters and essays by Franklin. If he was the author, as seems probable, they contain the first clear-cut statement on his part, in the newspapers, of a claim to the legislative autonomy of the colonial assemblies which he had certainly already developed in his own mind, as his private papers reveal.[46] This contention of "A Briton" had, to be sure, been foreshadowed by other writers in America, particularly by Bland. In the English debates on the repeal of the Stamp Act it had been put forth in a pamphlet of January, 1766, which, on grounds chiefly of internal evidence, seems also to have been written by Franklin.

Even more direct evidence of authorship is, of course, furnished by such manuscript drafts as can be discovered in the Franklin papers. These may be grouped into three classes: first, drafts of a number of already recognized Franklin essays;[47] sec-

[45] William Franklin to Benjamin Franklin, Jan. 31, 1769. Amer. Phil. Soc., Franklin MSS, II (ii), 156. The "Briton" letters are in the *London chronicle*, XXIV (Oct. 20 and 29, 1768), 377, 413. Another letter with this signature, possibly again Franklin's is in *St. James's chronicle*, Feb. 11, 1769.

[46] That Franklin's thoughts ran strongly toward a denial of parliamentary right of internal legislation as well as its taxing power so early as 1766 appears from a reading of the marginalia in the *Protest against the bill to repeal the American Stamp Act, of last session* (Paris: J. W., [1766]). By internal evidence it is possible to date these notes as more certainly strictly contemporaneous than in the case of some of the other annotations.

[47] These include drafts of *The interest of Great Britain* (see above, n. 21); of "A friend to both countries," *London chronicle*, Apr. 9, 1767, in L (ii), 12*d*; of the preface to *Letters from a farmer in Pennsylvania* (London: J. Almon, 1768), in L (ii), 23; of "New-England," in *Gazetteer* [date?], reprinted in *Pennsylvania chronicle*, Dec. 12, 1768, of which a draft is in L (ii), 59; and of "Rules for reducing a great empire to a small one," draft in L (ii), 11.

ond, a group of drafts which have not yet been certainly identified in the newspaper files;[48] and, third, a few drafts which have been so identified, and thus furnish us with new additions to the Franklin bibliography. Mention should be made especially of one essay published in the fall of 1770 in both the *Public advertiser* and the *London chronicle*, headed, "An American, to those Englishmen who virulently write and talk against his countrymen, sends this Expostulation."[49]

Almost as conclusive, and on the whole more fruitful in clues, are a variety of pieces preserved in Franklin's hand which constituted his notes of materials, ideas, arguments, and sentiments for use in controversial writing. Two of these memoranda, on mutilated scraps in the American Philosophical Society, contain notes on taxation and representation in Chester, Durham, and Wales.[50] There is the strongest reason for believing that

[48] Besides the draft of the unknown 1766 pamphlet, I have found about ten of these, clearly of this period, in the Amer. Phil. Soc., Franklin MSS.

[49] *Public advertiser*, Nov. 3, 1770, and *London chronicle*, Vol. XXVIII (Nov. 6, 1770); the draft, which is incomplete, and in hand of an amanuensis, is in LVIII (ii), 126. Other essays identified in this fashion include the brief paragraph, signed "OLD ENGLAND in its senses," reprinted from the *Gazetteer* in *Virginia gazette* (Purdie and Dixon), Apr. 7, 1768, draft in L (i), 7; and "N. N." in *London chronicle*, Nov. 8, 1770, draft in L (ii), 3. Reference has already been made to the draft, L (ii), 59, of "New-England" in the *Gazetteer*. Smyth (ed.) (*op. cit.*, V, 110–11) omitted much of this. An interesting link between this draft and two later essays, probably Franklin's, is revealed by the following passages:

a) MS, L (ii), 59 (1768): "Take all a Cow's Milk, and then tax her to be paid in Grass. Suppose they should therefore determine to suck one another."

b) *Public advertiser*, Jan. 2, 1770: "New Fables, humbly inscribed to the S——y of St——e for the American Department. Fable I. A Herd of Cows had long afforded Plenty of Milk, Butter and Cheese to an avaritious Farmer, who grudged them the Grass they subsisted on, and at length mowed it to make Money of the Hay, leaving them to *shift for food* as they could, and yet still expected to *milk them* as before; but the Cows, offended with his Unreasonableness, resolved for the future to *suckle one another*."

c) *Ibid.*, Jan. 29, 1770, "The colonist's advocate," No. VI: ". . . . It is an Insult on common Sense to affect an Appearance of Generosity in a Matter of obvious Interest. Is it Generosity that prompts the Rustick to feed his Cow, which yields him Milk? . . . ."

The "Fables" seem typically Franklin throughout; on the authorship of "The colonist's advocate" see below.

[50] Amer. Phil. Soc., Franklin MSS, LXXVIII, 9, 10.

these were used in the preparation of an essay which appeared in the *Public advertiser* on January 8, 1770. But this essay is only one in a series of ten called "The colonist's advocate"—a series distinguished less by the novelty of its ideas than by the skill of its dialectic. On close analysis it appears that the whole series is a re-working of familiar Franklin material. The correspondences in ideas, arguments, and phraseology with such other Franklin writings as *The interest of Great Britain*, the *Examination*, "The causes of the American discontents," the letters of "F. B.," "N. N.," and, even more convincing, Franklin's marginalia and his private correspondence, are so complete and so intricate as seemingly to exclude the possibilities of either independent invention or plagiarism. "The colonist's advocate" series of 1770 is in bulk, if not in sheer quality, the most considerable addition yet made to the catalogue of Franklin's newspaper essays on American rights.[51]

[51] "The colonist's advocate," Nos. I–X, appeared in the *Public advertiser*, Jan. 4, 8, 11, 15, 25, 29; Feb. 1, 5, 12, 19, 1770. More than ten numbers were planned, for in No. X the writer refers to the possibility of greatly increasing manufacture in America, "of which more in my next Paper." However, no further numbers have been found. It may or may not be significant that Franklin suffered much through that winter from giddiness, which culminated at Easter time in a recurrence of the gout. See letters to Miss Mary Stevenson, Jan. 22, and to Mrs. Franklin, June 10, 1770, in Smyth (ed.), *op. cit.*, V, 247, 265. On the place of the series in the propaganda, see Hinkhouse, *op. cit.*, esp. p. 149, where he says (n. 2) that "the anti-American letters of 'Old Mentor' and the pro-American letters of 'The colonist's advocate' feature this period."

An adequate presentation of the internal evidence in this and other suspected writings will require the printing of a critically annotated text. The following may be regarded as typical indications:

"The colonist's advocate," No. V (Jan. 25), contains long passages which are close but skilfully varied paraphrases of the "Causes of the American discontents:" on the Portugal trade; on the restraint of manufactures; on the lack of interest of governors, contrasted with princes; and on the independence of the judges. See Smyth (ed.) *op. cit.*, V, 78–89, esp. pp. 83–87. Interwoven with these themes are others which seem to derive from the marginalia, or from printed pieces of Franklin's. Cf. this by the "Advocate," "The Carthagenians obliged the People of Sardinia (*Vae victis!*) to buy all their Corn of them, and at the Price they set upon it. But we do not hear, that those tyrannical Conquerors forced the enslaved Sardinians to sell them all their Products at a Price of their own fixing," with the following from Franklin's queries, signed "N.M. C.N.P.C.H." (Aug. 25, 1768), in Smyth (ed.), *op. cit.*, V, 161: "Is there any difference

The most precious of Franklin's memoranda are two sets, each of a few pages only, in the American Philosophical Society,[52] which were probably written in the winter of 1765–66, during the concerted drive of the colonial agents and the Committee of London Merchants trading to North America for the repeal of the Stamp Act. There are indications that they represent Franklin's preliminary notes in preparation for that bril-

---

as to justice between our treatment of the colonists, and the tyranny of the Carthaginians over their conquered Sardinians, when they obliged them to take all their corn from them, and at whatever price they pleased to set upon it?"

The preceding essay, No. IV (Jan. 15, 1770), similarly weaves together statistics partly developed in *The interest of Great Britain* and in the *Examination*. The latter, on the post-office in America, had already been echoed in No. III (Jan. 11, 1770); and in No. VI (Jan. 29, 1770) the account of the services of the colonists in the last war was again an expansion of the *Examination*. This No. VI is, indeed, a mosaic of Franklin materials, so skilfully pieced together that plagiarism seems a far-fetched solution. It contains the figure of the rustic and his cow (see n. 49); it contains a re-working of the notion of "Francis Lynn" that Portugal might equally well be taxed by Britain for the expenses of the war; it contains, moreover, passages which seem to derive from marginalia in the *Protest* ([1766]), and in *An inquiry into the nature and causes of the present disputes* (1769). With the latter (pp. 61–62, margin) is one especially conclusive parallel: "The English are eternally harping on this String; the great Obligations the Colonies are under for Protection from the French. . . . . He [the American] will say, & justly, I paid my Proportion, & I am under no Obligation. The Colonies, as I have shown in preceding Notes, have always paid more in various Ways, and besides [*one line missing*] extending your Trade sometimes (from which you exclude the Colonies) & for Whims about the Ballance of Power & for the sake of continental Connections in which they were separately unconcerned." Cf. "The colonist's advocate": "The Case with the Mother-Country, and the Colonies, with Respect to the common Enemy, is the same; but with this material Difference, to the Disadvantage of the former in the present Dispute, that while we pretend to be ruined by the Defence of our Colonies, it is notorious, that the enormous Load of Debt, which sinks us almost to Perdition, is brought upon us by our romantick European Continental Connections; and that we pretend to have borne alone the Burthen and Heat of the Day, while the Colonies have sat still . . . . ; whereas, the Truth is that the Colonists have never been wanting to their own Defence."

The theme is the same, and the key phrase, "continental connections," is identical. Such parallels are found throughout the series; and are strengthened by marked stylistic resemblances, difficult to analyze. The total impression of Franklin's authorship will hardly be disturbed by the language of compliment which "The colonist's advocate," No. VIII (Feb. 5, 1770) uses in introducing a passage from the *Examination*, written "by a Gentleman, who has done great Honour, and important Service to his Country by his Manly Defence of her Liberties."

[52] Amer. Phil. Soc., Franklin MSS, L (ii), 46, 51.

liantly stage-managed affair, his examination before the House of Commons. Whatever their origin, they were carefully preserved by their author, who during the next eight years apparently extracted them out of his files on many of those occasions when he had to write on the great cause of America and Britain. Without organization, mere random jottings of keywords and phrases, of sentiments and scraps of arguments, they were demonstrably one of the arsenals from which he repeatedly drew ammunition in his journalistic frays. Almost literally it is true that each sentence can be found reproduced, or more often expanded and developed, in Franklin's writings ranging over the whole period from 1766 to 1774. These filiations run to Franklin's identified writings; they run also numerously to essays and pamphlets which on other grounds as well have come under suspicion of a Franklinian origin.[53]

[53] One instance will indicate what is meant. In L (ii), 46, is the cryptic entry,

"Animosity and Hatred will succeed.—Enemies will take Advantage.
Spaniards & Portuguese
Genoese & Corsicans."

Cf. "The answer" to Strahan's queries, Nov., 1769, in Smyth (ed.), *op. cit.*, V, 245, where the idea is considerably expanded: "Mutual Provocations will thus go on to complete the Separation; and instead of that cordial Affection that once and so long existed, and that Harmony, so suitable to the Circumstances, and so necessary to the Happiness, Strength, Safety, and Welfare of both Countries; an implacable Malice and mutual Hatred, such as we now see subsisting between the Spaniards and Portuguese, the Genoese and Corsicans, from the same original Misconduct in the superior Governments, will take place." At this point can be clearly demonstrated by internal evidence that Franklin was the author of another hitherto unidentified essay, probably of 1769, signed "Another London Manufacturer," which was reprinted from the *Public advertiser* in the *Pennsylvania gazette*, Apr. 13, 1769, and in the *Boston gazette* (suppl.), Apr. 17, 1769. The intrusion of another hand in this essay is seen to be out of the question when one remembers that it stands in time between the manuscript notes and the passage just quoted. It contains the following passage: "Depriving them of their privileges for no offence, and sending soldiers to insult them, strengthens their determination to take no more of our goods, and makes that determination more general: *This* will provoke us to use them with more severity; *that* more alienates and exasperates *them;* till, driven to despair, an open rupture becomes unavoidable, and the cordial amity so much to the advantage of both, which has hitherto subsisted between the two countries, comes to be converted into the most implacable mutual hatred, such as we see at this day, between the Spaniards and Portuguese, the Genoese and the Corsicans, which arose originally from the *very same* misconduct in the governing countries."

The Franklin notes thus contribute an important instrument in the application of the third and most difficult method of identification, the use of internal evidence in the form, especially, of the discovery of significant parallels with established Franklin works. This is the most delicate and laborious, but even at this stage in an uncompleted study, the most productive procedure. It requires a complete analysis and comparison of the known and suspected pieces in respect to ideas, figures of speech, forms of argument, and phraseology. It calls for a most rigorously objective approach to problems often highly subjective in character. The alternative possibilities of coincidence or of plagiarism as rational explanations of such parallelism must in each case be eliminated. In the matter of parallels in phraseology one must be constantly on guard against giving a probative value to such expressions as were the common coin of the controversy. Fortunately, in Franklin's case, there are several favoring circumstances. The newspapers and periodicals for which he wrote at various times can be definitely determined. In appraising one of the suspected pamphlets, it is significant that he had peculiarly close relations to the two American printers who first brought it out, and was a principal contributor to the English collection in which it was reprinted. It is not too difficult to define with exactitude the body of political and economic ideas which he held; this is the mold into which the suspected writing must closely fit. Moreover, that principle of frugality which Poor Richard incessantly preached, Franklin, as man of letters, constantly practiced. Again and again he revamped earlier essays, used repeatedly not merely ideas and arguments but favorite phrases; but in his repetition there was usually also variety. Subtle changes and developments in detail appear which testify rather to a single authorship than to plagiarism. He had, moreover, certain favorite sources of materials and expression—the notes already described, his letters to Governor Shirley, *The interest of Great Britain*, and the *Examination*. Some of these, to be sure,

might have been copied by other pamphleteers; but he also drew upon his own private letters, and upon the marginalia inscribed in his copies of important pamphlets on the other side of the case. Obviously those parallels are most convincing which run backward and forward in point of time or which link with unprinted Franklin sources, and these connections can often be demonstrated.

To exhibit the still tentative results from the use of these methods would require a more elaborate textual analysis of the documents than is here possible.[54] It may be said in general, however, that there has already been brought within the immediate range of the study a larger group of propagandist writings than have yet been listed in this essay—larger, indeed, than the whole canon of Franklin's previously identified writings, in pamphlet and newspaper, on the subject of the Empire and America. These suspected essays and pamphlets are so closely woven together, by so many intricate bonds, that they take on the character of a single, well-unified corpus. At the margins are certain essays of which it can be said only that they were probably written under Franklin's influence, or edited by his hand. Nearer the center of interest is a notable group of controversial pieces which were more certainly the product of his pen. These include not only newspaper essays but several full-length pamphlets. If their chief character is that of propaganda, they also illuminate the development of Franklin's political ideas.

Franklin emerges, certainly, as the chief agent of the American propaganda in England, especially between 1765 and 1770. That propaganda helped to win temporary victories, but failed

[54] The general nature of the evidence, and the character of the proof which is required, may be seen from the last note, and also from nn. 49 and 51. Until further work has been done, however, and until a better opportunity to display the evidence is afforded, it would seem inexpedient to list the possibilities and probabilities. Suffice it to say that in addition to many newspaper essays, three pamphlets dated 1766, one dated 1768, and another dated 1770 are among the documents under scrutiny.

in its larger purpose, which, in Franklin's mind, was to preserve and strengthen the Empire, upon the basis, however, of enlarged colonial autonomy. Nevertheless, the widespread reprinting in America of those writings which bear the Franklin stamp suggests that his influence was greater at home than has been generally admitted, in forming the spirit and shaping the ideas of the American Revolution.

JAMES ADAMS
THE FIRST PRINTER OF DELAWARE

By Dorothy Lawson Hawkins

NEW CASTLE, Kent, and Sussex counties, extending in a northerly direction from the mouth of the Delaware River for a distance of seventy miles or more, were the southernmost counties of William Penn's grant. Although nominally under the governorship of Penn and his successors, the Three Lower Counties, or the Counties upon the Delaware, as they were generally known, had succeeded by 1704 in their effort to obtain a separate legislature, and this virtual separation from Pennsylvania was continued until it became complete with the establishment of the Delaware State in 1776. Yet in spite of weakened political ties, trade with the parent-colony continued to be active and social relationships remained close.

The Three Lower Counties evidently had small concern either with the writing of books or with the reading of them. In fact, there is almost no evidence of any literary interest among the inhabitants of Delaware before the middle of the eighteenth century, except that Evans' *American bibliography* has recorded the existence of a bookseller in New Castle in 1724 named W. Read. There was no printing press and no printer in Delaware prior to 1761. Indeed, with the exception of Georgia, printing began later in Delaware than in any of the thirteen original states.

The explanation of this delay is to be found partly in the predominantly agricultural interests of the inhabitants[1] and partly

[1] Christopher Ebeling's account, written about 1799, gives the most satisfactory description of economic and social conditions in Delaware in the eighteenth century.

in the geographical situation; for the Delaware River was accessible, affording a broad, easy avenue of communication which made possible very close trade relationships between the towns on its shores. As a result, local enterprise in the smaller towns tended to be discouraged, for they could depend on Philadelphia for manufactured articles and products involving specialized technical skill. Thus it was natural that for many years the laws of the Counties upon the Delaware should be printed in Philadelphia where printing had been established since 1685, and that the legal forms and other modest printing requirements of such a rural community should also be supplied by the city which was one of the most active centers of printing in colonial America.

About the year 1760, a Philadelphia printer named James Adams set up in business for himself after several years' connection with the firm of Franklin and Hall.[2] McCulloch[3] says that he was enabled to do this "by the money received with his wife." According to the account of Isaiah Thomas, Adams' first business was located in Philadelphia, but if so he appears to have realized very soon that the competition of the dozen or more printers and booksellers in that city was unduly keen, while not many miles away lay Delaware, a virgin field which he might cultivate for himself. His move was thus chronicled in the issue of the *Pennsylvania gazette* for September 24, 1761:

> James Adams, printer, who hath been in the employ of Messrs. Franklin and Hall upwards of seven years, takes this method to acquaint the public, that he has opened a printing-office in Wilmington, New-Castle county, where he purposes to undertake and execute all printing work committed to his care, to the satisfaction of his employers; and hopes thereby to merit the con-

---

He was librarian and professor of history at the Hamburg Gymnasium and seems to have been a competent observer. Delaware is treated in part 5 of his *Erdbeschreibung und geschichte von Amerika. Die Vereinten Staaten von Nordamerika* (1796–1814).

[2] Isaiah Thomas, *History of printing in America* (2d ed.; 1874), I, 318–19 (in *American Antiquarian Society Transactions*, Vol. V).

[3] William McCulloch, *Additions to Thomas's History of printing* (1921), pp. 131 ff. (in *American Antiquarian Society Proceedings*, N.S., Vol. XXXI).

tinuance of their custom and interest. - - - - - His friends in Virginia and Maryland, or elsewhere, who have been pleased to favour him with their work, when residing in Philadelphia, may, by directing to him as above, or to the care of Mr. William Falkner, in Market-street, opposite the Court-House, Philadelphia (who will have opportunities of conveyance to him by the stage-boats, which go to and from Philadelphia to Wilmington, on Wednesday and Saturday every week) have their future commands performed with care and dispatch. - - - - - At the printing-office in Wilmington may be had, Bibles, Testaments, spelling-books, primmers, all sorts of blanks, viz. bills of lading, bonds with and without judgment, penal bills, bills of sale, apprentices indentures, powers of attornies, wills and powers, arbitration bonds, &c. - - - - -*** Ready money for clean linen rags will be given by said Adams. September 24, 1761.[4]

In selecting Delaware, Adams apparently disregarded the advice of Franklin (*cf.* McCulloch) that he settle in "one of the British islands." But the choice does not seem to have been unwise, for James Adams prospered and remained in business in Wilmington, where he was esteemed as a good citizen, until his death about thirty years later.

For nearly twenty-five years Adams was the only printer in Delaware, and enjoyed a practical monopoly of its printing. During that time he was the official printer. In addition to the laws and the journals of the Assembly, he also printed paper currency authorized by the state.[5] For the first three decades of printing in Delaware, and until the time of his death, James Adams can be credited with nearly 80 per cent of the known output of the Delaware press.

Comparatively little is known of James Adams' life. He was born about 1725[6] in Londonderry, Ireland,[7] where, if tradition

[4] This advertisement was discovered by Mr. Douglas McMurtrie and reported by him in an article entitled "Delaware imprints of 1761," which appeared in *American book collector*, Aug.–Sept., 1932.

[5] For an account of the issue of the early paper currency of Delaware, with facsimile reproductions of notes of 1776 and 1777, etc., bearing the imprint of James Adams, consult R. S. Rodney, *Colonial finances in Delaware* (1928).

[6] Cf. James Adams' obituary notice as quoted below in the text, and Thomas, *op. cit.* (1810), II, p. 126. If his age was correctly given by Thomas (2d ed.) and by McCulloch, he must have been born about 1730.

[7] Cf. Adams' will as quoted below in the text.

is correct, he learned his trade. He probably came to Philadelphia sometime before 1753. By his own statement quoted above, he was connected for more than seven years with the famous firm of Franklin and Hall, and, according to the tradition reported by McCulloch,[8] is said to have "often worked at the press with Franklin as a partner." According to records in the Keith family, he was married to Martha Keith Henry (whose maiden name was Keith) in Christ Church, Philadelphia.[9] The date is not known, but probably it was about 1753.

William McCulloch made the statement that Adams was the father of ten children—four sons and six daughters. But only four sons and three daughters are mentioned in their father's will, and the burial records in Wilmington fail to show any additional names. One daughter, Sarah, died February 7, 1766, when she was seven years old. Martha, who was four or five years older than Sarah, reached maturity. She married Captain Patrick O'Flinn, an innkeeper in Wilmington, and died February 22, 1779, when she was twenty-five years old. Adams' youngest daughter, Mary, married Rev. Robert Keith, a graduate of Princeton, who served as chaplain during the Revolutionary War, and who died in 1784. Mary Keith was still living when her father died.

At least three of the sons of James Adams—James, Samuel, and John—became printers, and will be mentioned later in that connection. Samuel died in the spring of 1803; John and James were still living when William McCulloch's notes were written about 1814. According to John Adams, on whose authority McCulloch's account is based, the eldest son, Hans, "entered the Revolutionary Army, was stationed at Wilmington during the

[8] *Op. cit.*, p. 237: "Old Adams has frequently mentioned that he often worked at press with Franklin as partner." But cf. Franklin's statement in his *Autobiography*, that after the formation of his partnership with David Hall [1748] "he took off my hands all care of the printing-office."

[9] I am indebted to Mr. Charles P. Keith, of Philadelphia, for this information about Martha Keith Henry's marriage to James Adams.

time Philadelphia was in possession of the British, and died there of a camp fever." In the will of the elder James Adams it is directed that a stone be placed on the grave of his son Hans.[10]

After his move to Delaware, James Adams apparently printed four items in the fall of 1761. These were advertised for sale in the *Pennsylvania gazette* for November 5, 1761, as follows:

> Just published, and to be sold at the Printing-Office, in Wilmington, and in Philadelphia by William Falkner, opposite the Court house, in Market-street,
>
> The Wilmington almanack, for the year 1762. Containing, besides what is common and useful in all other almanacks, the following select pieces, viz. Rules and maxims for promoting matrimonial happiness, addressed to all widowers, husbands and batchelors in Pennsylvania. An essay towards a character of the late King George the Second. An account of the island of Belleisle, &c. &c. - - - - Also lately published (Price one shilling, or eight shillings a dozen) The child's new spelling-book. To which are added, 1. The Mosaic creation; or Divine wisdom display'd in the works of the first six days, in prose and verse. 2. Seasonable reflections, abridged from Mr. Hervey's Descant on the creation. 3. A serious exhortation to a strict observance of the Christian Sabbath. 4. The philosophy of children, &c. The whole attempted to enlarge children's ideas, and give them an early sense of the infinite obligations they lie under to the great Author of their beings. - - - - Likewise lately published (price seven shillings and sixpence) The merchant and trader's security, &c. At the above places may be had (price threepence, or two shillings a dozen) The advice of Evan Ellis, late of Chester County, deceased, to his daughter when at sea.

On the basis of the prices advertised a rough sort of guess might be made as to the probable format of the works. It would seem likely that *The child's new spelling-book*, which sold for a shilling, was published as a small pamphlet; *The merchant and trader's security*, which sold for as much as seven shillings sixpence, was

[10] The site of the old Presbyterian burying-ground is now occupied by modern buildings. In 1917 the bodies that were buried there and the stones that marked the graves were transferred to the present Wilmington Brandywine Cemetery, where one can find the graves and markers for James Adams and Martha Adams, Martha O'Flinn, and Sarah Adams. Although, according to the will of James Adams, a stone was to have been placed on the grave of his son Hans, no stone bearing his name was located, and his name is not to be found in the list of interments in the old First Presbyterian church yard, as preserved by the present First and Central Presbyterian Church.

probably a book of some size—one of those books of tables and useful commercial information known as "ready reckoners" which were popular at that time; and *The advice of Evan Ellis*, priced at threepence, might prove to have been a broadside.

Writers on the history of printing in the United States have frequently asserted that *The child's new play-thing* was the first book printed in Delaware. Indeed, that statement, although unsupported by proof, seems to have been accepted without question until 1927, when Mr. Wroth, in his brief survey of the history of printing in North America, drew attention to the fact that there was no apparent reason for assigning that title priority over all the others.[11] It would, of course, naturally be the first Delaware imprint mentioned by Hildeburn and also by Evans, since the arrangement of their lists for each year is alphabetical.

Although the advertisement did not state which of the four items there listed was published earliest, the implications of the wording may well be considered carefully. Mention of Fox's *Wilmington almanack for 1762* as "just published" certainly implies that it was the most recent publication, while terms suggesting greater remoteness in point of time, such as "also lately

[11] A statement of Mr. Wroth's view is found in his chapter on printing in North America, which appeared in 1927 in *Printing, a short history*, ed. R. A. Peddie. At that time Mr. Wroth was unaware of the existence of copies of Fox's *Wilmington almanack for 1762*.

A later statement of Mr. Wroth's view is found on p. 33 in his book entitled *The colonial printer* published in 1931 by the Grolier Club: "The first pamphlet to issue from his press is sometimes said to have been *The child's new play-thing, being a spelling-book, etc.*, Wilmington, 1761, but there seems no reason to give this title priority over Thomas Fox's *Wilmington almanack for 1762*, *The advice of Evan Ellis to his daughter when at sea*, or *The merchant's and trader's security*, all of which are publications of 1761, recorded by title only in Hildeburn's *Issues of the Pennsylvania press*. Three copies of the *Almanack* are now known to exist, though, and whatever the exact order of the 1761 publications may have been, this piece must stand for the present as the first extant Delaware imprint."

Since no actual copies of the work have been found, it has seemed to me preferable to use the form of title found in the advertisements. The title as given in Evans 8813 resembles that of a work published in Boston by J. Draper and J. Edwards in 1750.

published," describe the other titles. This would suggest that the other three works were all published before the *Almanack*.

A slight contribution toward a solution of the problem was also made by a paragraph found in copies of Fox's *Wilmington almanack for 1762*,[12] which announced *The child's new spelling-book* as "just published, (price one shilling) and to be sold by the printer hereof." Although the paragraph in the *Almanack* describes the work less fully than the advertisement in the *Pennsylvania gazette*, both agree as to the wording of the title. This paragraph in the *Almanack* contributes in two ways to our knowledge of the Delaware imprints first printed by Adams. It confirms the implication contained in the wording of the *Gazette* advertisement and establishes pretty definitely that Fox's *Wilmington almanack for 1762* was published later than *The child's new spelling-book*,[13] and it also confirms the title of the latter as *The child's new spelling-book* (since it is found thus in Hildeburn's list and in both contemporary advertisements) rather than as *The child's new play-thing*, the form used by Evans. Omission of the other two items from the notice in the *Almanack* was probably due merely to lack of space, since both were mentioned in the *Gazette* advertisement which also announced Fox's *Almanack* as just published.

Having seen the advertisements, which were good evidence

[12] At least four copies of Fox's *Wilmington almanack for 1762* are still in existence. One copy is in the Wilmington Institute Free Library in Wilmington, one at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia, one at the Library of Congress in Washington, and one at the American Antiquarian Society Library in Worcester.

[13] Mr. Douglas McMurtrie, although he had seen both the advertisement in the *Pennsylvania gazette* and the one in Fox's *Wilmington almanack*, says in his article on "Delaware imprints of 1761," that he does not find "any clear indication of relative priority of issue." He suggests that the almanac may have been named first because of its greater degree of salability.

Both of those advertisements were known to me before the appearance of Mr. McMurtrie's article cited in n. 4, and it has seemed to me after careful consideration of his view that he has not given sufficient weight to the advertisement found in the *Almanack*. Mention of *The child's new spelling-book* in the *Almanack* seems to be rather definite evidence that the almanac was the later publication of the two.

that the items named had actually been issued, and having located copies of Fox's *Wilmington almanack for 1762*, one of the four earliest works printed by James Adams' press, it seemed that by persistent effort actual copies of the three other items advertised might eventually be located. But a four-year search for them by the writer of this paper proved unsuccessful.

Recently, however, through the vigilance of Mr. Wroth, a rare and apparently unique copy of one of them has been discovered and secured for the John Carter Brown Library. It is a broadside sheet, rather stained and ragged, measuring about $13\frac{3}{4}$ by $8\frac{1}{8}$ inches, and it has, below one of the ornamental border designs which Adams frequently used, the colophon: "Wilmington, Printed by James Adams, at his printing-office, in Market-street." The heading is: *The advice of Evan Ellis, late of Chester county, deceased, to his daughter, when at sea.* This broadside is undated, but it may justly dispute with copies of Fox's *Wilmington almanack for 1762* the claim to be the earliest bit of Delaware printing extant. No announcement or statement has been found indicating that Adams printed any other edition of the *Advice;* the colophon names James Adams as the printer and the printing suggests Adams' early work; moreover the title corresponds with the title found in the advertisement of 1761, and the single sheet of printing might well have been priced at threepence as advertised there. In the absence of evidence to the contrary, there seems to be little doubt that this is indeed one of the elusive Delaware imprints of 1761 which has been brought to light.

Its discovery affords hope that copies of *The child's new spelling-book* and *The merchant and trader's security* may be finally discovered. When they have been found it may then be possible to make a more definite statement as to which of the four was the first to be issued. Meanwhile, decision in the matter must be reserved. But it seems reasonable to suppose that a printer, having set up a new press, would first attempt some simple publication like a broadside before printing more complicated books

or pamphlets. If that supposition is correct, *The advice of Evan Ellis*, and not *The child's new spelling-book*, was the earliest output of the Delaware press.

The first book printed in Delaware, and still in existence,[14] was published during the next year. In 1762 James Adams issued Fox's *Almanack*, a pamphlet of twenty leaves; *Daily conversation with God*, another pamphlet of sixteen pages; and *Votes and proceedings of the House of Representatives* for 1762, which contained twenty-seven pages.[15] But in that year Adams also issued a more ambitious work—a bound book containing more than 142 pages, which was a reprint of an English work of great popularity: *A new guide to the English tongue* by Thomas Dilworth. This Wilmington edition was one of the numerous American reprints.[16] Besides the rules of English grammar "necessary for all such persons as have the advantage of only an English education," it contained various tables of words and "a select number of fables, adorned with proper sculptures, for the better improvement of the young beginner," ending with "forms of prayer for children on several occasions." Although the last pages containing the forms of prayer were missing in the only copy found,[17] a considerable number of pages containing fables and their accompanying woodcuts remained, thus offering con-

[14] Since Fox's *Wilmington almanack for 1762* is a pamphlet of eighteen leaves and *The advice of Evan Ellis* is a broadside, neither of them is properly a book.

[15] In 1762 Adams may or may not have attempted to issue a newspaper. Thomas stated that he did and quoted its title as *The Wilmington courant*, but no copies have ever been found to authenticate his statement. This is more fully discussed later in this paper. Cf. also n. 35.

[16] According to the *Catalogue* of the British Museum, there was a thirteenth English edition as early as 1751. Evans records twelve American editions between 1747 and 1772, the earliest being the edition printed in Philadelphia by Benjamin Franklin in 1747. It continued to be a popular title until after 1800.

[17] The only copy that I have seen is in the private library of Mr. George Plimpton. He generously allowed me to examine it there and to have photostats made of certain pages. Mr. Plimpton's copy is not only interesting because it may be unique, but also because it contains, pasted inside the cover, a page which proved to have come from Fox's first *Wilmington almanack*.

clusive evidence that it was an illustrated work—probably the first illustrated book to have been printed in Delaware.

Although it has sometimes been stated that the *Laws of government of New-Castle, Kent and Sussex, upon Delaware*, Volume II, printed by Adams in 1763, was the first book to be printed in Delaware,[18] it is apparent, as has been brought out in the foregoing paragraphs, that this volume of the *Laws* was preceded by at least eight other works, several of which are still in existence. Consequently it cannot claim our interest on the ground of priority, being neither the first piece of printing nor the first book. But although it was not even the first piece of legislative printing done in Delaware by Adams, it is interesting because it continued an earlier compilation of Delaware laws passed prior to 1752, which had been printed in Philadelphia in 1752 by B. Franklin and D. Hall.[19] In general, the style of the volume printed by Adams resembles the style of the one printed in 1753 by Franklin and Hall.

While 1763 is the imprint date which appears on the title-page of the *Laws*, all of the bound volumes that have been seen contain numerous session laws of a later date. It is stated in the *Votes and proceedings* of 1762 that Thomas M'Kean and Caesar Rodney were appointed a committee

> to collect and revise such laws as they shall think of a general or publick nature, and that they get the same transcribed by the Master of the Rolls, and carefully compare the same with the originals. And that the said committee also revise, correct and settle, the minutes of this House, and procure them

[18] William Nelson made this statement in his *Notes toward the history of the American newspaper*, I, lxvi and lxviii. A similar statement is found in the *Catalogue* of the Brinley sale, Item 3648.

[19] The *Handlist* of the Massachusetts State Library adds to its entry the note: "The expression 'Vol. II' on the title-page is unexplained. There does not appear to have been any 'Vol. I.' " Vol. I was not issued by James Adams; there seems to be no reason to doubt that Vol. II was intended to complement *Laws of the government of New-Castle, Kent and Sussex, upon Delaware, published by order of the Assembly*, which was printed by B. Franklin and D. Hall in 1752. An earlier compilation was *Laws of the government of New Castle, Kent and Sussex upon Delaware* . . . . (Philadelphia: B. Franklin, 1741) (cf. Evans 9375; Nelson, *op. cit.*, p. lxvi.

to be transcribed fair for the press: And that the said committee contract and agree with some printer for the printing two hundred copies of the said laws, and minutes, to be stitched in blue paper.[20]

These instructions were probably carried out, although of the two hundred copies stitched in the original blue paper none seems to have survived in that form to the present day. Subsequent session laws, continuing the paging and signature numbering of the compilation, were printed later by James Adams and issued in signatures[21] so that they might be bound with the compilation of 1763.[22] Several such unbound parts in their original form, the signatures loosely fastened together with a single thread, are to be seen in the Charlemagne Tower collection at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

The volume containing *Laws* of 1763 represents an important portion of the work of the early printers, for the *Acts* or *Laws* of each session, and the *Votes and proceedings* or *Journals* of the House and of the Senate, were the regular grist of the colonial printing presses. Such publications, together with common legal forms like indentures, bonds, and bills of sale, were probably the mainstay of Adams and the other early printers.[23] Even after

[20] *Votes and proceedings of the House of Representatives of the government of the counties of New Castle, Kent and Sussex upon Delaware,* Nov. 2, 1762.

[21] Mr. Wroth has noted that this was a common practice in colonial printing-houses. Knowledge of the manner of issue serves to explain why copies of the work differ from one another in paging. E.g., the bound volume owned by the Historical Society of Delaware stops on p. 299 with 1773. The copy which formerly belonged to John Dickinson is at the Law Library of Harvard University; it contains 351 pages and ends with Sept., 1775. The copy which was described in the *Catalogue* of the Brinley sale which is now in the New York Historical Society Library ends at p. 337 (misprint for p. 357). The copy belonging to the Association of the Bar of the City of New York runs to p. 367, which would be p. 387 if the numbering were correct.

[22] The Association of the Bar of the City of New York copy includes in manuscript an "Act for the more speedily completing the quota of troops" which was passed May 22, 1777. It also includes several printed acts of 1778 which do not continue the former paging and signature numbering, and which appear to have been thework of Francis Bailey in Lancaster, Pa.

[23] Wroth, *op. cit.*, pp. 192 ff. The whole chapter on "The product of the colonial press" is a particularly delightful one.

Adams was no longer the sole printer for Delaware, an attempt seems to have been made to apportion this important business fairly among the leading printers. But, although the state printing offered employment which the printer could count on rather definitely, payment of the state's accounts might be allowed to be deferred for a period of time which the printer must have found dishearteningly long. The Delaware state auditor's ledger has an entry under date of April 10, 1784, drawn in favor of James Adams for £68:7:6, "for printing contracted for by John James & Thomas Kean Esqrs. under the orders of the General Assembly," and there are three entries dated June 21, 1784, in favor of James Adams:

For printing the money	£216:13:1
For an additional amount for printing	173: 0:0
For printing the laws of the state—reported April 10, 1780	810: 0:0

An entry under date of November 4, 1784, "for printing laws passed at Lewes Town, and other printing work as pr. account," amounting to £17, brings the total of the payments to James Adams in that year to £1268:0:7—a considerable amount which would indicate previous unpaid accounts.

The foregoing, together with an entry, "For balance of sundry accounts for printing," amounting to £97:4:0, are probably the amounts referred to in one letter written by James Adams to Ebenezer McComb, which has somehow escaped destruction, and is still to be found among the documents in the custody of the State Archives Commission of Delaware in an excellent state of preservation:

Sir,

I rec^{d}. your favour of the 3^{d}. ult. with two of my acco^{ts}. for re-examination inclos'd; but if no other parts of them, which were delivered, have come under your notice, think they must be mislaid or lost: However, have drawn them all out anew, mark'd off as the work was done and they delivered in to the House of Assembly, whereby you'll be enabled, I hope, to make a report of the balance due me; which I earnestly request may be done without delay, so as I may obtain an order for payment. Should be glad [if] it was convenient

for me to have the honour of waiting on you myself, but infirmities of different kinds prevent; however, as you'll observe the different accounts are added up as they were sent, and a few notes interspers'd explaining matters, think there will be no difficulty in the business. As assurance (was given me) that interest for the money due me by the state would be paid me, have reckon'd it from the last date in each account till the first of July 1784, when I rec^{d}. the first part of the £200 order; and the then balance, of principal, being £178:14:—, have charg'd the interest thereof till first of July 1785;—which being done in a hurry, you'll please to excuse and rectify mistakes if any. I am,

Sir,

Your very humble Servant,

Ja^{s}. Adams.

Wilm^{ton}. 25th July, 1785.

My son, this bearer, will hand you the account.—Please inform me when an order can be obtain'd for the balance.

P.S. The three first accounts on the list herewith sent you, beginning in Nov^{r}. 1778, and closing 12th of Feb. 1780, were charg'd at a low rate in Continental currency, meaning by so charging, to keep up its value, not thinking it would ever depreciate in the manner it did, and three orders at different times were given me for the amount; but as I could not get any of them answered, after repeated applications to the treasurer to discharge them, return'd them to the House of Assembly by Col. Tho^{s}. Duff, and drew out the same accounts anew, and sent them in as you now see they stand, which were allowed, and passed the House with all the others: Col. Duff, being one of the Committee of Accounts, gave me this information—so that those charg'd in Continental currency were cancelled and became void—this I notify in case such should come under your notice.—

For
Ebenezer M^{c}Comb, *Esq^{r}.*
at
Dover.

The works printed by Adams in the first few years are, as a matter of fact, fairly representative of the outstanding types of work handled by every printer of the period. Religious tracts, useful handbooks, and educational works loom large in the output of the American press of the time, while almanacs and legislative printing were two of the steadiest sources of income of the colonial printer. Other lines of a colonial printer's stock in trade in the eighteenth century are suggested in the following, which appeared in Fox's *Wilmington almanack for 1762:*

Bibles, Testaments, Psalters, spelling-books, primmers, merchants blank books, writing-paper, ink, all sorts of blanks, viz. bills of lading, kerry bills, penal bills, bills of sale, arbitration bonds, apprentices indentures, bonds with and without judgment, to be sold at the printing-office in Wilmington. - - - Also, very good lamp-black. Ready money for clean linen rags, at the above office.

James Adams was known to his contemporaries as "a pious Christian." It may be, therefore, that the large proportion of moral and religious publications which he issued sincerely reflected the bent of his mind. Nevertheless it is true that religious works were among the best sellers of the period during which he flourished, and the heavy proportion of religious titles in a list of his publications may have been merely indicative of his skill in judging the popular taste. Actual count demonstrates that during the first two decades of his printing in Delaware more than a fifth of the works which are attributed to his press might be roughly classified as religious.

The only secular work known to have been printed by Adams in 1764, aside from almanacs and official publications, was a work on farriery entitled *The citizen and countryman's experienced farrier*, the authorship of which was credited on the title-page to "J. Markham, G. Jefferies and discreet Indians." According to an account of its publication written by one Joseph Buffington, whose papers are preserved in the Library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, material was culled by John Millis, a farrier living in Chester county, Pennsylvania, from an old work on farriery, one of many written by Jervis (or Gervase) Markham, a remarkable gentleman-adventurer, poet, and horse-breeder who flourished in England about the beginning of the seventeenth century and died in 1637. He was the author of numerous works on farriery and horsemanship, so similar that it appears impossible to tell on which of them the work published by Millis was based. Buffington's letter[24] gives a full and

[24] Buffington and Marshall Papers (1760–69); as preserved at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, p. 822. Cf. also J. S. Futhey and Gilbert Cope, *History of Chester county, Pennsylvania* (1881), p. 312.

picturesque account of the vicissitudes surrounding its publication:

JULY THE 21ST. 1767 CHESTER COUNTY IN THE PROVINCE OF PENSYLVANIA & TOWNSHIP OF EAST BRADFORD

FRIEND. William Milles altho I am a stranger to thee I think it my duty to write to thee. These are to inform thee that thy brother John Milles is dead; he died the 18th. day of this month & was buried the 19th. at which I assisted which was near twenty miles from my house and hath left me his executor tho I believe I shall not stand partly that I had almost made a resolution that I would not meddle in such business any more and partly that I do not think there will be enough to pay his small debts exclusive of mine. The reson perhaps of his leaving me his his execr. was as we had been old acquaintance & I a particular friend of his tho very much to my loss & discredit; and as thou art his only brother & alone if I remember right I will inform thee of the whole affair between me and him. In the first place he had lived many years within about two or three miles of me and not conducting towards the last as well as he should have done he got something behindhand. he was indebted to Richard Waggstaff who perhaps thee might have known; in about £17..10..0 I believe a considerable time and not likely I believe to get it he sued him sometime before February court in the year 1761 he then came to me to be bound for his appearance at court which I complied with; and after that sometime before the court the sd. Waggstaff came up, I believe from some encouragement from John Milles to a near neighbour of mine with which sd. Waggstaff had some business & thy brother John perswaded me to go up with him and when there he very much overperswaded [me] to be bound for him which I did he promising I should not loose by him if he lived or died. he then seeming as he thought in away to get something having a little cart & two horses and followed marketing altho it did not answer his expectation for some few months after this the cart overset and catched him some way under it and had like to have killed him tho he escaped with his life he was badly hurt and lay a considerable time under the doctors hands which put him farther behind. However he held together till next Spring when some of his goods I believe was seised for rent & some other debts coming on him his goods was sold by the constable he then in these circumstances knew not what to do he however came to my house as the only place he could make free & in compassion for him I could not turn him away tho very much blamed by many for it. And after some few months abode with me as he had a farrier book he brought from England with him and had lent it to several of the neighbours and was thought a great deal of. One day at my shop there was a man that knew the book and would have bought it before but John would not sell it. He then offered in my hearing over & over twenty shillings for the

book if he would take it to his house but he would not consent so after he was gone I asked John if it would not be worth reprinting to which he agreed and said he had thought of it before and soon after concluded to have it done and accordingly set about it to make an addition of his own beside there was a neighbour and acquaintance of Johns & mine not far off that was held to be the best farrier in the parts I believe John communicated his mind to him which he approved of & I believe promised to assist him as he had a very good farrier book by him and likewise told him many things of his own experience. John thereupon set to it in earnest & composed the work out of some other authors I believe & some of some other farriers & had the judgement of several that understood something of the business to recommend the book & they gave him good encouragement.[25] he then I believe began to go about the country to see what encouragement the publick would give him as he intended to get a considerable [number of] subscribers before he agreed for the printing which he did & employed several tavern keepers to take in subscriptions till he had got a considerable quantity and then went to agree with the printer for the printing of them but he not caring to venture printing them without a bonds man he then applied to me again to stand by him which I was loth to do if I could have helped it; but considering that he owed me near fourty pounds he being then off & on at my house near a year & a half himself & a horse, and I being obliged to let him have money time after time to bear his charges while getting subscribers & beside he telling me he knew where six or seven hundred of them would go I was induced to believe that now was the time for me to get my own & likewise help him & put him in away again which I should have been glad of I complied and accordingly went & we agreed with the printer on the 1st of October 1763 & I gave my obligation for a hundred & four pounds for printing & binding six hundred books they containing 300 pages and another obligation for about twelve pounds for some more conditionally however the book containing many pages more I was obliged to pay for them about twelve pounds more which in all was near one hundred & thirty pounds. The books came out next June following and thy Brother John began to carry them about to the subscribers and was to return the money to the printer when he went for more books but money being something scarce and he too negligent he made poor returns therefore the printer beginning to call upon me I was forced to make up the money as fast as I could.

[25] There seems to have been some sort of neighborhood meeting to revise the notes and ratify the project, for this note is found on p. iv of the book itself: "We whose names are hereunto annexed have, by an appointed meeting at the house of John Baldwin, in Kennet township, Chester county, revised and examined the copy and manuscripts of the Citizen and countryman's experienced farrier, now intended for the press by John Millis, and are of opinion, that it will be of great service to the public in general." This note is signed by William Pennock, Humphrey Marshall, Samuel Sellers, and George Gilpin, and is dated "Third month, 22, 1763."

John I believe did not make up above twenty pounds in all. I was very hard set to make it up I talked to John many times to be more diligent but did not seem to have any effect. Now as a considerable number of books being on [his] hands and he doing nothing of any value towards vending them after thee sent the goods to him I was uneasy and at last told him if he did not do something with them to satisfy me I would sell them for what I could get. I asked him to get his cousin William Milles to be bound with him which he did; there being at that time near if not quite books enough to pay what he was bound for if well managed which was one hundred & eight pounds. And after that tho I saw him but seldom I was at him to do something with them & thy son too but they not much heeding they let them lay & vended but very few; and now I have a considerable quantity upon [my] hands & whether I can make any thing of any value of them I do not know as they are not thought so much of in these parts as they was. tho' I do intend to do my endaevours as soon as I well can as John is gone. Almost the last discourse John and I had was concerning them I desiring him to do his endeavour to sell them which he gave me expectation he would which was about six or seven weeks ago, tho he was poorly & had been [a] great part of the winter, but was in hopes he should get better I heard nothing of him since as I remember till I heard of his death. The doctor whose hands he was under said he had the consumption. I believe he owes me now exclusive of that bond of 108 pounds near fourty pounds which sum I believe may be as much as I can make of what books I have & perhaps more tho' I am not sure, however I will make as much as I can of them not knowing whether I shall ever get any more. Tho' I would hope as I understand thou art a very able man thou wouldst consider as he was thy own brother and he a stranger in this country that thou wouldst not let me suffer too much as really I have very much both by loss of money and credit as I was very much pinched and am yet to pay my own debts through him & some others in distress being too easy prevailed on to help the distressed. Had I all the money made up as I have gave the account of I should be far from having compensation for my trouble and loss of credit; tho if I get it it is all I can expect. Therefore giving a true account to the best of my remembrance of the concerns between thy brother and me I shall conclude hoping thou wilt consider me. I would have thee write to me what thee thinks thou can do; if thee desires it I can send from under creditable mens hands to certify the truth of the above relation to the best of their knowledge & my character. however for the present I will appeal to thy son William who was at my house a considerable time after he came to this country with the greatest part of the goods for which I have had no retaliation yet, tho' I do not blame thy son as he had no way his uncle doing as he saw cause with the goods. So no more at present wishing thee & thy son William & family well.

Joseph Buffington

Except that the proportion of legislative printing was frequently greater in some years—legislative printing comprised about a third of the total number of works which were printed by James Adams during a twenty-year period—the works just described, which Adams published during his first five years in Wilmington, may be taken as a fairly accurate sample of the kinds that came from his press during his thirty-one years of activity as a printer.

Adams carried on his trade in Wilmington uninterruptedly until 1777. Then, when the British were approaching Philadelphia, probably during September, Adams removed for safety with his family, press, and stock to the vicinity of Doylestown, Pennsylvania, since he was openly known as a sympathizer with the colonial cause. McCulloch's account based on the description of the occurrence as given many years later by his son John Adams, is quite graphic:

> The waggon carrying his type had passed Philadelphia only three miles, when it was met by the British, who seized a portion of his types, and either destroyed or sold them. He returned to Wilmington immediately after the British left Philadelphia in 1778; and some of their shipping passed Wilmington even after he arrived there. He printed an almanac during his sojourn in Buck's county, but nothing else, as no paper could be procured, and he had taken but a small quantity from Wilmington.[26]

At the time of the Revolution, Adams issued a few political pamphlets, broadsides, and a drill manual; but though he felt it unsafe to remain during the British occupation because he was "an avowed Whig," he would seem from the examples left to have printed but little propaganda for the colonial cause. In

[26] So far as is known, the almanac referred to has not been definitely identified. It was probably the *Pennsylvania town and country-man's almanack for 1778*, compiled by John Tobler, although it might also have been Fox's *Wilmington almanack* for that year. It has been impossible to locate a copy of either item. Certain Delaware laws, passed in May, 1778, and very different in appearance from the laws as usually printed by James Adams, were printed in Lancaster by Francis Bailey. The *Laws* that were passed in June, 1777, have no imprint but they look like the work of Adams. Fox's *Wilmington almanack for 1779* was probably issued in the fall of 1778, as was the usual custom. It was printed in Wilmington by James Adams.

fact, he appears to have employed his press less in furtherance of his own political views than did many other printers of his day. His activities as official printer, particularly in the printing of the colonial currency, were probably responsible for his decision that it would be unsafe for him to remain in Delaware at the time of the British occupation.

It is possible to pass rapidly over several years when the bulk of Adams' printing consisted of state publications and almanacs, varied by a few religious works. In 1781 he published the first edition of the New Testament to be printed in Delaware, thus antedating by about twenty years the 1802 Brynberg edition mentioned by John Wright in his *Early Bibles of America*. Two years later, in 1783, Adams published a reprint of three Quaker tracts under the title *Three treatises . . . . the first by William Penn, in England; the second by Robert Barclay, in Scotland; and the third by Joseph Pike, in Ireland.* Since the signatures of the work are continuous, although the parts have separate title-pages, the whole would appear to have been issued as one work, not separately, as occasionally offered for sale by some dealers.

We come now to one of the most interesting, and probably the most famous, of James Adams' imprints, *The discovery, settlement and present state of Kentucke* by John Filson, published in 1784. Filson was a surveyor and was the first to publish a geographical account of that region. The book also included some notes concerning the Indians, and the fascinating story of the pioneering adventures of the indomitable Colonel Daniel Boone. It was illustrated by a remarkable map of the Kentucke country, made by Filson in consultation with the early pioneers of that section—Daniel Boone, James Harrod, and Levi Todd. The work is justly regarded as one of the most important documents in the western development of the United States and both the book and the map are highly esteemed by collectors. The complete work is exceedingly rare and the few copies purchased have commanded high prices. It must have achieved

immediate popularity with contemporary readers, for a French translation of the book was issued in 1785 and a German translation also appeared in the same year.

John Filson was not a native Delawarean, but was born about 1747 in the western part of Chester County near East Fallowfield, in southeastern Pennsylvania. Young Filson had studied at Rev. Samuel Finley's academy at Nottingham, Maryland, and acquired a sufficient education to become a teacher and later a surveyor. According to Conrad's account, he served in the Revolution and was wounded in the right arm, and for that reason abandoned teaching school in Wilmington, since his wounded arm made it impossible to thrash the boys.[27] If this account is true, it gives a connection with Wilmington which helps to explain his later choice of Adams as the printer of the first edition of his *Kentucke*.

When he was about thirty-six, John Filson journeyed to Lexington where he taught school for a year, and there he assembled material for his book and map as he talked with the early settlers of the region. Sometime in 1784 he returned East.

He evidently visited Wilmington on this trip and while there arranged for the printing of his history by James Adams. But whether Adams was selected on account of an acquaintanceship begun when Filson formerly lived in Wilmington, or merely because he could offer favorable terms, it is impossible to say. No record of the transaction has been preserved so far as is known. The map of the Kentucke region which Filson had drawn to accompany his account had to be engraved before it could be printed, and there must have been no one in Wilmington at that time who could undertake such a commission. In consequence the map to accompany the book was engraved in

[27] H. C. Conrad, *History of Delaware*, I (1908), 313–14. Conrad did not give the source of his information and his account should be accepted with caution. None of the industrious investigators of Filsoniana have turned up any record of Filson's military service. Cf. W. R. Jillson, *Sketch of the life of Filson*, "Filson Club Publications," no. 35 (1930), p. 139.

Philadelphia by Henry D. Purcell and printed there by Ternor Rook.

The map was printed on a sheet $17\frac{7}{8}$ by $19\frac{5}{8}$ inches, and when it was folded in quarters on what appear to have been the original folds of one of the copies, it was too large to have been tipped in the book. The presentation copy of the book given to George Washington by the author and now on file in the Boston Athenaeum seems, however, to have once contained a copy of the map which was later removed.[28]

From records that remain it is quite certain that the book and map were sold sometimes together and sometimes separately.[29] But while copies of the book are now rare, copies of the map are rarer still. This may not indicate that few copies of the map were printed, but rather that most of them were carried about in the pockets of their owners and were worn out in actual use. Colonel Martin, whose careful study of the map and questions connected with it gives weight to his opinion, believes that many copies of the map were originally printed. Several students and experts have devoted minute study to the life of Filson,[30] and

[28] One of the most interesting association copies originally belonged to Daniel Boone. It is now owned by C. W. Jones, of Minneapolis. The other was the copy sent by Filson himself to George Washington, Feb. 8, 1785. It has Washington's autograph on the title-page. In this copy Colonel Martin found a stub opposite the title-page which seems to prove that the map was once inserted there. This copy is now in the Boston Athenaeum (see W. R. Jillson, *The Kentuckie country*, 1931, p. 53).

A list of the existing copies of the original Wilmington edition of Filson's *Kentucke*, with notes as to their present location and former owners, compiled by Dr. W. R. Jillson, appeared as part of his brief article, "John Filson's book and map: *Kentucke*, 1784," in the *Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society*, XXVIII (July, 1930), 281–83.

[29] Colonel Durrett (*John Filson* [1884], p. 48) quotes Filson's record of the sale of two copies of the book and map in Pittsburgh in May, 1785, at 7/6, and shortly afterward the sale of one map in Louisville at 5/. Also noted by Colonel Martin in Jillson, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

[30] For a full account of John Filson's life, so far as it is known, the reader is referred to the monographs by R. T. Durrett and by W. R. Jillson, which were published as "Filson Club Publications," nos. 1 and 35. The latter publication consists mainly of a facsimile reproduction of the Wilmington edition of Filson's *Kentucke*, as it was printed by Adams in 1784; but it also includes a sketch of the life of Filson, written by Dr. Jillson, and a bibliography of editions of Filson's *Kentucke* and other Filsoniana. In con-

to the interesting problems presented by his map. Though few early copies of the map remain, slight differences in the features which appear on them indicate that after some maps had been printed changes were made in the engraved plate. By means of these changes and the watermark of the paper on which the map was printed various states or editions may be differentiated. The map question, however, is only slightly connected with James Adams, and is too intricate to be attempted in an account devoted to his life and work.

Adams ceased to have a monopoly of Delaware printing after 1784. All of the official publications printed in 1785 have the imprint of Jacob A. Killen & Co., as do also those of 1786, but after 1786 no Killen imprints have been found. Frederick Craig and Company succeeded Jacob A. Killen and Company as state printers the next year, and continued to have a share of the state printing until 1791, when that firm was succeeded by Brynberg and Andrews. Although Frederick Craig and Company printed the *Votes and proceedings of the Assembly* for the session of May, 1788, those for the sessions of January and October of that year were printed by James Adams and Sons. This apparently contradicts the statement found in McCulloch's notes that after Adams was underbidden by rivals "he declined a competition." From 1789 through 1792, the year of his death, the imprint of James Adams, or of James Adams and Sons, is found on a fair proportion of the official publications. Even after the death of James Adams, his sons Samuel and John appear to have secured about the amount of the state

---

nection with the map question, Dr. Jillson has included a letter from Colonel Lawrence Martin giving the comments of the latter on the various states or printings of the map. Colonel Martin's letter should be read to supplement the study of the map question which was made in 1908 by P. L. Phillips and was published under the title, *The first map of Kentucky by John Filson*. See also Jillson, *The Kentuckie country*, which contains a later discussion of the map question by Colonel Martin. Good photographic illustrations, with a careful description of the book and various issues of the map, are given by R. C. B. Thruston in "Filson's History and Map of Kentucky," published in *The Filson club historical quarterly*, v. 8, No. 1, January, 1934.

printing that might have been expected to have been their father's share. In 1797, and for several years thereafter, Samuel and John Adams did all of the official printing for the state as their father had done in earlier years.

James Adams would have been unusual among colonial printers if he had not attempted to establish a newspaper.[31] The statement that he did so is frequently made, and it rests on the account of Isaiah Thomas. In his *History of printing in America*, published in 1810, Thomas covered the history of the publication of newspapers in Delaware thus:

> The first and only newspaper published before 1775, in what is now the state of Delaware, made its appearance in Wilmington about the year 1761, entitled, if my information is correct, *The Wilmington courant.* Printed and published by James Adams, for the short period of six months; when, for want of encouragement, it was discontinued.[32]

In writing his account of printing, Isaiah Thomas relied chiefly on his extensive collection of books, pamphlets, and newspapers, and also to some extent on statements obtained from other printers, and on his own recollection of events and occurrences, acquired during nearly fifty years' experience as a printer.[33] If in the present instance he happened to be depending on a recollection almost fifty years old, errors of fact might well have crept into his statement. There seems to be a slight note of doubt on his part, evidence of which is his use of the phrase, "if my information is correct."

In such a vast project as the one that Isaiah Thomas attempted and carried through, there was bound to be some inaccuracy and incompleteness. Conscious of this, the author planned to issue a second edition for which he made notes of numerous al-

[31] Wroth, *op. cit.*, pp. 198 ff.

[32] *Op. cit.*, II, 349. Also his general account of printing in Delaware (pp. 125–26 of the same volume): "In 1762, he published 'Proposals for printing a news paper'; but not meeting with encouragement, it was discontinued after being published six months."

[33] *American Antiquarian Society Transactions*, V (1874), ix and lxxxii; IX (1909), 80 ff. note; also *American Antiquarian Society Proceedings*, N.S., XXXI (1921), 89.

terations in an interleaved copy. To assist him William McCulloch, one of the leading printers of Philadelphia, sent him five letters and a long communication, written four or five years after the publication of Thomas' *History of printing*, giving additional facts and comment and corrections of misstatements in the *History*. Commenting on Thomas' account of James Adams' newspaper venture (quoted above), McCulloch wrote:

> About the year 1787 he commenced a newspaper, called the *Wilmington courant*, which was continued for two or three years, and then, through lack of encouragement, relinquished. My information does not embrace the title of the paper he attempted, but it was different from this [i.e., different from the *Wilmington courant*].

This note is not quite clear. It might be McCulloch's effort to correct a possible misstatement of date and title by Thomas. It is evident, as Mr. Brigham pointed out in a footnote when he edited McCulloch's notes for publication by the American Antiquarian Society, that McCulloch meant to refer, in the latter part of his note at least, to a paper called the *Delaware courant and Wilmington advertiser*, published in 1787 by Samuel and John Adams, according to the colophon of the only copies which have been found. The earliest issue thus far found is No. 35, and while it may be that the *Delaware courant* was originally established or was financed by James Adams, Sr., it is also possible that McCulloch may have confused the activities of James Adams and his sons. At all events Isaiah Thomas appears to have been sufficiently uncertain of his original statement to have made an attempt to change it by adding McCulloch's note, with the result that in the second edition of his *History of printing*, which was reprinted after his death from the manuscript corrections found in his interleaved copy, the statement reads:

> The first and only newspaper published before 1775, in what is now the state of Delaware, made its appearance in Wilmington about the year 1762, entitled, if my information is correct, *The Wilmington courant*, printed and published by James Adams, for the short period of six months; when, for

want of encouragement, it was discontinued. About the year 1787, Adams commenced the publication of another paper, entitled *The Wilmington courant.* Its continuance was only two or three years.[34]

After a careful examination and comparison of all three accounts, one has a strong impression that both Thomas and McCulloch were uncertain, and wrote from more or less hazy recollections of a Delaware newspaper, which they had once heard or known about, but that neither of them had any copies in hand at the time of writing.[35] It may be that Adams did publish "Proposals for printing a news paper" in 1762, as stated by Isaiah Thomas in his first edition. The statement was allowed to stand in his second edition, although in the second edition the quotation marks, which had formerly indicated a direct quotation of title, were removed, suggesting that the author might have begun to doubt the correctness of his recollection. But the fact remains that not a single copy of that

[34] *Op. cit.* (2d ed., 1874), II, 154 (in *American Antiquarian Society Transactions* Vol. VI.

[35] In a letter to the writer, dated May 2, 1931, Mr. Clarence S. Brigham, director of the American Antiquarian Society, expressed this view regarding the *Wilmington courant:* "In regard to the very interesting 'Wilmington courant' of 1762, I note that you doubt its existence. But there are two points to be considered. Isaiah Thomas very seldom, if ever, made mistakes in his general statements, and his statement regarding a Wilmington newspaper of 1762 was very explicit. Furthermore, in the 'Pennsylvania gazette' of Sept. 16, 1762, I found a long news quotation from Wilmington, dated Sept. 10, 1762, arranged just the way the quotations from other papers in Boston, Charleston, Annapolis, etc., were arranged. Probably search in New York files of the last half of 1762 would reveal other quotations, giving fairly good proof of a Wilmington newspaper of that date."

While such a suggestion, coming from Mr. Brigham and backed by his wide acquaintance with early American newspapers, carries the greatest weight, it seems to the writer that the existence of such a news item as the one he has cited cannot be taken as more than an indication of the possible existence of a Wilmington newspaper at that date, since no paper is actually mentioned. There would still remain the possibility that the Wilmington news item was received by letter, or even by oral report, since Wilmington was within easy reach of Philadelphia. The quotation from the *Pennsylvania gazette* for Sept. 24, 1761, previously noted mentioned the stageboat service which went twice a week regularly between the two places, and surely it would have carried news as well as passengers and commodities. Thomas' statement, qualified by "about" and "if my information is correct," seems to me hardly explicit enough to be accepted as final authority since no copy of the *Wilmington courant* can be located.

newspaper or of the proposals to print it has since been discovered. On the other hand, it seems not improbable that Thomas and McCulloch may both have had in mind the *Delaware courant*, the known issues of which cover about four months of the year 1787, and the prospectus of which, dated May 17, 1786, and signed by James Adams, Jr., and Samuel Adams, is in the possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.[36]

Like many another colonial printer, Adams carried on his business with the assistance of various apprentices to whom he taught the trade in exchange for their services over a period of years. One of the first of these was Isaac Collins, a native of Delaware, who later became state printer in New Jersey. According to Isaiah Thomas, he "served his apprenticeship until he was twenty years of age with James Adams of Wilmington. He then went, by the consent of Adams, who had but little business, and finished his apprenticeship with William Rind at Williamsburg, Virginia. When of age, he was employed by Goddard and others in Philadelphia; and for his extraordinary attention to business, received twenty-five percent more wages than other journeymen in the same printing-house."[37] Collins may have worked for Adams until about 1766. He began his printing in New Jersey in Burlington in 1770, and later moved to Trenton.[38]

[36] Mention should perhaps be made of William Nelson's statement, *op. cit.*, I, p. lxviii:

1762—*Wilmington chronicle*, established at Wilmington, by James Adams. Not meeting with any encouragement, it was discontinued after being published six months. [*Footnote:* Thomas gives the name of this paper as the *Courant*, but I am informed that *Chronicle* is correct. I have not been able to ascertain the whereabouts of a single copy.]

Nelson failed to give the source of his information that *Chronicle* is the correct title, but it seems possible that he has here befogged an already cloudy matter by confusing the *Wilmington chronicle*, issued in Wilmington, N.C., during part of 1795 and 1796, by James Carey and John Bellew, with the *Wilmington courant*, which is attributed to James Adams. Since Nelson stated that he had never seen an issue of the paper, and failed to give the source of his information regarding the difference in title, it seems safe to disregard his "correction."

[37] *Op. cit.* (1874), I, 316.

[38] Constance H. Humphrey, "Check-list of New Jersey imprints," *Bibliographical Society of America Papers*, XXIV (1930), 48–49.

Shepard Kollock, another New Jersey printer, was also a native Delawarean, having been born at Lewes in 1750 of a Delaware family that was prominent politically and socially. He, too, is reputed to have learned his trade from James Adams,[39] although the chroniclers of the history of printing in New Jersey are at variance in the matter and according to some accounts he was trained as a printer in Philadelphia in the office of the *Pennsylvania chronicle.*

Quite naturally, James Adams trained his sons in his own trade. William McCulloch says that all four of Adams' sons were printers. If that is so, it seems likely that Hans worked only in his father's establishment, for no publications are found bearing his imprint. This circumstance is readily explained by his early death during the Revolutionary War, for no imprints of the other three sons are found until much later than that. The first one that is known was the broadside proposal for publishing a newspaper: the *Delaware courant and weekly advertiser.* This proposal was issued in Wilmington, May 17, 1786, and has the joint imprint of James Adams, Jr., and Samuel Adams. It happens, also, to be the only imprint issued jointly by Samuel and his brother James, although numerous Delaware imprints are found which bear witness to the partnership of Samuel and John, both in existing issues of the *Delaware courant* of 1787, and in other publications issued in Wilmington and in New Castle until the turn of the century. Samuel and John, as partners, also maintained a press in Baltimore from 1790 to 1796.

During his years of activity James Adams, Sr., doubtless trained a good many apprentices, for his advertisements for apprentices are found at intervals in the newspapers. Shortly be-

[39] William Nelson, "Some New Jersey printers and printing in the eighteenth century," *American Antiquarian Society Proceedings*, N.S., XXI (1911), 33.

fore James Adams' death, which occurred on December 11, 1792, an advertisement appeared in the *Delaware gazette:* "Two apprentices wanted to the printing business. Enquire of James Adams, printer." It was still running when he died.

Several of the letters of James Adams to Mathew Carey, the well-known Philadelphia printer and bookseller, which are among those preserved in the files of Carey's correspondence books now in the possession of the Pennsylvania Historical Society, seem to refer to the exchange of the services of Adams' journeyman or apprentice (both terms are found in the letters) named William Hancock, in return for "a triffle of pocket-money" to be paid by Carey to Hancock, his modest expenses for boarding and the washing of "one shirt, &c. a week," and certain of Carey's publications for which Adams thought he could find a sale in Wilmington:

Sir,

Without a doubt you very well know the advantage and disadvantage in employing journeymen at your business.—As printing with us at present is slack, if you stand in need of a compositor, I can supply you with one who is *very sober*, attentive to and diligent at his business, is as correct as the most, very obliging, and you may rely on his faithfulness. His weekly wages, except for his boarding and washing, and a triffle for pocket-money, I shall take in such books as I will notify, if you have them, in case you employ and allow him common wages. Your answer by return of the boat, will oblige,

Sir,

Your humble servant,

Ja^{s}. Adams.

Wilm^{ton}. Nov. [1788]

P.S. On occasion he can work at press.

Mr. Mathew Carey, *Printer*
In 2'nd St, near Chesnut St
Philadelphia

By Capt. Faudry
who lies at Crook-Billet Wharf.

Sir,

I did not receive your favour of the 3d inst. before this day; otherwise you should have heard from me before now: However, my young man will leave this place Wednesday next to wait on you on your terms—and the books, expected for his labour, may be got readily in Philada

Am,
Sir,
Your humble servant,
Jas. Adams.

Wilmton. 13th Decr. 1788.

Mr Mathew Carey, *Printer*,
in 2d Street, near Chesnut street,
Philadelphia.

By Capt Foudray.

Sir,

This bearer, Wm. Hancock, is the person I notify'd in my first letter to you, whom I have now sent to wait on you; and as he has not been much abroad, doubt not but you'll wink at some triffling matters.—His constitution is not of the strongest, therefore hope you'll employ him as little as possible at press.—You'll please to let him have two shillings & six-pence each week for pocket-money; the remainder of the weekly wages you proposed to give, I'll take in books as notify'd in my last. Am, in haste,

Sir,
Your humble servant,
Jas. Adams.

Wilmton. 17th. Decr. 1788

P.S. I expect his washing with boarding, which will be but one shirt, &c. a week.

Mr. Mathew Carey, *Printer*
In 2nd. near Chestnut Street
Philadelphia

Sir,

I did not receive your favor of the 4th. ult. before Friday sennight, with a copy of Milton, Economy, & Crisp—the two former not being the editions I expected, and the latter the discourses of a Quaker, which [as they] are abundantly distributed among such here, will not answer to exchange a number: However, please let me know your price for the three books recd. & shall send you the amount either in Testamts. s[pelling] books or primers, as you may direct.—

No other terms than those offer'd you respecting my apprentice, who is orderly, regular & honest, will do.—Am, in haste,

Sir, Your humble servant,
JAS. ADAMS

WILM^TON. 2^d. June, —89

M^R. MATHEW CAREY, *Printer*
IN 2^ND. STREET NEAR CHESTNUT STREET
PHILADELPHIA

By CAP^T. WALKER

Such forms of barter were probably not uncommon in colonial America. Journeymen were scarce and were frequently on the move because work in the printing shops was neither constant nor large in volume.[40] Naturally Adams desired to get some profitable return for his journeyman's services during a slack time, without turning off a sober, industrious workman, since at that period such workmen were too infrequently met with in the printing trade.

Later correspondence with Carey brings to light other business dealings between the two printers consisting of an exchange of lots of books of equivalent value, based on their retail prices, of which the following are examples:

SIR,

Herewith have sent you half a groce of Woolman's primer.—Four dozen Testaments & one hundred Dilworth's spelling books, have left with M^r. Craig, for binding, agreeable to your directions. You'll please to send me by this bearer the books noted on your memorandum in exchange; remembering to send six copies of Paradice Lost instead of some of the Jests.

Am,
Sir, Your humble servant,
JA^S. ADAMS.

WILM^TON. 25^th Aug. 1789.

M^R. MATHEW CAREY, *Printer*,
[*next line caught in binding & illegible*]
PHILADELPHIA.

By CAP^T. WALKER,
with a small bundle.

[40] Wroth, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

Sir,

I rec^{d} yours of the 2^{d} inst. by Cap^{t}. Walker, with four paper parcels; but the Beauties of Johnson (inserted in your invoice) was in neither—please send it by the bearer.

Am,
Sir,
Your humble servant,
Ja^{s}. Adams.

Wilm^{ton} 8th Sep^{r}. 1789.

P.S. If it will suit you to exchange such imported Books as I will give you a list of, for Tes[t]am^{ts}. in sheets, please let me know by Cap^{t}. Walker's return—the former are a slow sale in comparison of the latter. they will be such as may be readily got, if you have not got them yourself.

M^{r}. Mathew Carey, *printer*,
In 2^{d} Street, near Chesnut street,
Philadelphia.

By Cap^{t}. Walker

Rec^{d} Sept. 27.–115
Ans. Sept. 28

Sir,

Herein You have one of our Alma^{s}. for the ensuing year inclosed for your Inspection; which, if I mistake not, contains several pages more than the most publish'd, and, perhaps, fill'd with such matter as may be as acceptable to the publick as any other—If it is agreeable to you, shall exchange as many of them, at 3/. a dozen as will be an equivalent for a sett of the Museum from its commencement to the present time, bound in leather & letter'd.—Please favour me with your answer by return of this bearer, Am,

Sir,
Your humble servant,
Jas. Adams.

Wilm^{ton}. 26th. Sep^{r}. 1791.

M^{r}. Mathew Carey

Wilmington, 9th. April, 1792.—

Sir,

I rec^{d} your favour of the 30th. ult.—and have now before me that of the 24th. to which you refer me—and as but few of the books I expected in exchange, published in your printed list, (several of which I presume you have in the way of exchange) appear there, have little encouragement for the barter proposed: However, that our negotiation may not be altogether fruitless, you may, if you think proper, send me at present, 10 copies Young's Night Thoughts—10 d^{o}. Paradise Regain'd—10 d^{o}. Doddridge's Rise & Progress,

&c.—4 d°. Enfield's Sermons—10 d°. Devil on two Sticks—12 Robinson Cruso, old fashion—12 d°. Think well on't—12 Grandeson,—and shall forward to you an equivalency in the following Books; viz. Edwards on the Freedom of the Will—Pattillo's Sermons—d°.'s Plain Planter, and Address to Husbands & Wives, Children & Servants—Family Prayers, by Henry—Chesterfield's Advice to his Son on Men & Manners, &c. with Lord Burghley's Precepts, to his son, annexed—Quakers Body of Divinity—and Bohem's Sermons.—Your books at retail price, and mine at same rate, as at first proposed.—Am,

Sir, Your humble servt.

Jas. Adams.—

P.S.—The inclosed advt. evinces we are determin'd to have the famous British milk kine in America as well as the draught & ruñing horse.—

Mr. Mathew Carey, *Printer*
Front Street, No. 22
Philadelphia.

By Capt. Adams' *boat*

From his dealings with Carey it is clear that Adams maintained a kind of connection with the Philadelphia booktrade, which was natural, both on account of the proximity of the two places and on account of Adams' own early association with the Philadelphia firm of Franklin and Hall. Further evidence that he maintained such a connection is the mention of William Falkner (sometimes spelled Falconer), opposite the courthouse in Market Street, Philadelphia, as the agent for the four books published by Adams in 1761 and some later books. Falkner, who, by the way, is not mentioned in Evans' list of Philadelphia printers and publishers of that time, was also mentioned as Adams' Philadelphia representative in the advertisement which appeared in the *Pennsylvania gazette* of September 24, 1761, to announce Adams' move to Wilmington. Later, in Tobler's *Pennsylvania town and countryman's almanack* for 1767 and also for 1768, both issued by Adams, mention is made that copies may be obtained "in Philadelphia of Jonathan Zane and William Wilson, both in Second-street, between Chesnut and Arch-street." The former is noted as a bookseller in Evans' list, but the latter is not found there.

These are the only direct indications thus far found of any connection of Adams with Philadelphia printers or printing firms, though it seems natural to suppose that some such connection would be profitable to both sides, since it would give a wider market to the output of the press of both printers. The stageboats which plied between the two ports twice a week afforded regular communication, and even the shipment of such bulky parcels as books in quantity lots would present no great difficulty. It is easy to imagine that such transactions as those recorded and noted above were typical of numerous similar transactions, the records of which have not come down to us. The exchange of books among American booksellers, as well as importation from England, serves to explain why all efforts of a later bibliographer may fail to discover any copy of a book containing the imprint of the printer who has advertised it for sale, and why some of the "editions" which appear on bibliographical lists carded from such advertisements remain undiscovered after even the most painstaking search.

An obituary notice of Adams' death was printed as a news item in the *Pennsylvania gazette* for December 29, 1792, as follows:

> Wilmington, *December 15.*—Died last Tuesday morning, in the 68th year of his age, Mr. James Adams, printer, and on Thursday afternoon his remains were interred in the Presbyterian Grave Yard; as he was an useful member of that Society.—His funeral was attended by a great concourse of the inhabitants of this place, and of the neighbourhood around; as he was highly esteemed, by all who knew him, for the benevolence of his disposition, the inoffensiveness of his behaviour, and the purity of his manners.
>
> He has lived for many years in this borough, and was always diligent in his business, and remarkable for the regularity, neatness and correctness of his printing. It may be truly said, that he discharged the several duties of his station, with attention, punctuality and fidelity; and that he was, in reality, a good citizen—an honest man—and a pious Christian.

His will, dated November 14, 1792, was probated January 7, 1793, and is still on file in Wilmington.[41] His sons, Samuel and

[41] James Adams' will is filed in the office of the register of wills for New Castle County (I, 308).

John Adams, furnished bond as executors in the sum of £4,000, which may be an indication of the extent of his estate. His son-in-law, Captain Patrick O'Flinn, was also designated in the will as an executor, but declined to serve. The will contains the following provisions:

Be it remembered that I, James Adams, Sen^r. of the borough of Willmington, New Castle county, state of Delaware, being of sound mind and memory, do therefore constitute, make and ordain, this my last will and testament, in manner and form following, that is to say: 1^st. It is my desire that my body be decently buried, and the tombstone now repaired to be laid over my late wife, Martha Adams, (which is larger than common) may be so fixed, as that it may partly cover us both, with my name occupation, time of my departure, and age, cut in legible letters on the top part thereof, where there is space left for that purpose;—and that my just debts and funeral charges be fully discharged—And also, that there may be head and feet stones put to the graves of my son Hans and daughters Martha and Sarah with their names, age &c; cut thereon. 2^d I give and bequeath to my sons: James Adams, Samuel Adams, John Adams, and my daughter Mary Keith, all my estate real & personal, viz: The house I now live in, lots adjoining, and out houses, bounded by the North East, by High Street, and the North West by King Street; also the house and lot now occupied by Mrs. French, in High Street, opposite the upper market-house, North-West side in the borough of Wilmington, in the Delaware state; likewise my two acres of Marsh Meadow in Brandywine Marsh, being the lot between the late Capt. Stedham's and Jonas Stedham's lots, on the Marsh lane, near said borough as also all my apparatus for printing part of which [is] now in use in Baltimore by my sons Samuel and John, and the remainder in my possession in Wilmington, all my store of books bound and unbound, paper &c. bonds books debts, and cash, household and kitchen furniture, cow and whatever else I may be possessed of, as my just property at my decease, all which, my said sons James, Samuel and John, and my daughter Mary Keith, are to divide equally among them, share and share alike—but it is to be remembered, that my daughter Mary Keith is to allow one hundred pounds to be deducted out of her share, as she has received that sum heretofore from her father.—3^d my mind and will also is, that my sons James, Samuel and John Adams, and my daughter Mary Keith, may make up among them one hundred pounds, lawful money of the Delaware state, each to give an equal part out of each of their shares bequeathed, to my grand-daughter Martha Adams, daughter of my son Hans Adams, deceased, or to her lawful issue if such she should have—and my daughter Mary Keith, or my sons James, Samuel or John Adams, are to give her my said grand-daughter, Martha Adams, as much household furniture, and kitchen ditto as they may think sufficient. 4^th I give and bequeath to the

oldest son living of my brother Robert Adams, deceased, now or lately living in Tully Ally near Londonderry, in the north part of Ireland, twenty pounds, lawful money of the Delaware state, six months after my decease notice whereof to be given him by my executors, and to be paid him, or his attorney, when demanded, after said space of time by my executors; each of my legatees, except Martha Adams my grand-daughter, to pay an equal part thereof. Lastly I nominate my friend Capt. Patrick O'Flinn and my sons Samuel and John Adams, my executors, to see this my last will, as directed, faithfully executed and performed.—In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand, and seal, the 14th day of November, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-two.

JAS. ADAMS SEN'R. (L. S.)

Signed sealed & published in presence of
WILLIAM COOK
BENJAMIN COOK

As one surveys the works printed by James Adams, it is with the realization that he was no innovator, but an honest workman content to follow a well-beaten path. Like most of the printers of that time, he had little taste for literary pioneering, if the evidence afforded by his imprints is to be believed. It must have been easier, and doubtless more profitable, in those days of nonexistent copyrights, to reprint works whose popularity had been attested by ready sales elsewhere. Hence it is not surprising that many of his imprints contain the legend: "London, printed; Wilmington, re-printed and sold by James Adams," or that we find previous American editions of many of the titles that he issued. He printed such official work as came to hand, he issued one or more almanacs a year, since almanacs were a staple necessity of the colonial planter and farmer, and in addition each year printed a few works which he thought would meet the popular taste and would be sure to sell. He either resisted altogether the temptation to mold public opinion as editor and publisher of a local paper, or if he yielded to the lure of that fascinating but precarious adventure, his attempt was short-lived and unsuccessful. His career, so far as we know it, was moderately prosperous, but in no way brilliant, and his

virtues as described in his obituary were the unspectacular ones —benevolence, punctuality, fidelity and diligence.

There is a marked resemblance in style between the printing of James Adams and that of Franklin and Hall, so that it seems probable that he was considerably influenced by his early connection with that famous firm. The regularity, neatness, and correctness of James Adams' printing are mentioned in his obituary. And both Isaiah Thomas and William McCulloch, who were his contemporaries and themselves printers, spoke of him as a good workman.

An examination of James Adams' imprints supports their testimony. Long titles were the fashion in his day, and they imposed a difficult problem of design on the colonial printer who, with a limited variety of types and sizes at his command, endeavored to compose a pleasing title-page. This problem James Adams frequently met with a considerable degree of success and skill. A good example of this is *The harmony of the divine attributes* by William Bates, which he printed in 1771, but numerous others of equal merit might be cited. His handling of the printing of the *Laws* and of the *Votes and proceedings*, especially in the use of rules and ornamental borders, as well as in the type design of the title-pages, compares very favorably with work of the same sort which was done by the other Delaware printers. There is, too, a clearness and evenness of impression, as well as a certain masculine quality, in his printing and in the design of his pages which one misses in theirs. James Adams was, in fact, a printer who possessed real craftsmanship, and his work may be compared without discredit with that of the best American printers of his time.

"GAZETTE FRANÇOISE," NEWPORT, R.I., 1780-81

By Allen J. Barthold

Title: *Gazette françoise*
First Issue: Nov. 17, 1780; Last Known Issue: Jan. 2, 1781
Periodicity: Weekly
Printer: ———, Press under supervision of De Maulevrier (?)
Editor: John Jastram

ON BOARD one of the fleet of convoy ships commanded by Charles Louis de Ternai that carried the French expeditionary forces under Rochambeau to Newport in July, 1780, there was a printing press known as L'Imprimerie Royale de l'Escadre.[1] This French fleet maintained its base at Newport, Rhode Island, until the end of June, 1781, and for a short time during the winter of 1780–81, the official press of the fleet was set up on land at 641 Rue de la Pointe, Newport. From this address, according to the colophon, was issued the *Gazette françoise*, the first French newspaper to be printed in what is now the United States.[2]

The town of Newport, upon the arrival of our French allies, found itself transformed overnight. Seven French vessels of the

[1] It is not known which ship carried this Imprimerie Royale. It is supposed, however, that it was the "Neptune." Mr. A.- Jacques Parès, in his article on Imprimerie Royale d'Escadre (see n. 6), speaks of a work published by this press, *Etrennes américaines* (see n. 7, item 3), a copy of which has not been located, but was listed in a Parisian bookseller's catalogue as being printed "à bord du vaisseau amiral *Le Neptune*, comt. Destouches." This, however, in the opinion of Mr. H. M. Chapin, was the guess of the bookseller. Upon the death of De Ternai, Destouches took command, and it would be natural to assume that the press was on board the flagship, the "Neptune."

[2] *Colophon:* "A Newport, De l'Imprimerie Royale de l'Escadre, rue de la pointe, N° 641."

line, two frigates, and from twenty-five to thirty transports lay in its harbor, landing five thousand troops, who were immediately ordered to take up the defense of the forts of Rhode Island. From July, 1780, to June, 1781, Rhode Island more or less graciously sheltered this welcome host. During the winter months of that year, eighty-six officers of the army and eleven of the navy were comfortably lodged in the homes of certain citizens of Newport. These were the privileged few who fraternized with the townspeople, enjoying the best that Newport society had to offer. Differences in language, naturally, remained a serious drawback. Tutoring schools where the French and English languages were taught quickly sprang into being for the benefit of the young ladies and the adventurous French officers who were eager to understand and to make themselves understood. But in spite of the social prestige which a little knowledge of English afforded these officers, there was, after all, a war going on, and the eagerly awaited news of sea and land engagements was not to be laboriously translated by them from cryptic American newspapers. Urgent circumstances such as these, then, gave rise to a demand which called for an organ of intelligence in the French language—a demand which was answered by the editor of the *Gazette françoise* in the publication of a four-page weekly which aimed to supply a digest of important news events, selected, abstracted, and translated from contemporary American newspapers, principally for the convenience of these officers.

A manuscript entitled *Etat des logemens occupés dans la ville de Newport par l'armée, aux ordres de M'r le cte de Rochambeau pendant le quartier d'hiver de 1780 à 1781*[3] tells us who these officers were and in which Newport homes they were lodged. From this billeting list it is learned that the Chevalier de Maulevrier lived at the home of Samuel Johnson, at 486 Water Street. Right below this entry on the list appears the following: "Imprimerie de idem, 641."[4] Since this address corresponds with the

[3] E. M. Stone, *Our French allies*, pp. 221–24.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 224.

one given in the colophon of the *Gazette*,[5] we can infer from the entry "Imprimerie de idem, 641" that the Chevalier de Maulevrier was either the printer or the officer in charge of the Royal Press. The latter supposition is probably more correct, for it is hardly possible that De Maulevrier, who at the time was captain of the "Guêpe," was also the fleet's printer. In the absence, however, of corroberating evidence from official sources, this all but too brief indication as to the personnel of the fleet's printery cannot pass unquestioned.

Very little, apparently, is to be learned concerning the history of this press, principally because information on the sea-presses used by the French during the eighteenth century is very limited; even the official records of the War Department are of practically no assistance on this point.[6] Of the productions of these presses, some seven titles are now known to bibliographers interested in this unique bypath of the history of printing.[7] Only

[5] Rue de la Pointe, No. 641, was the name given by the French to the street which ran along the water front up to the end of what was called the point. This street, at that time, was known as Water Street, and is translated as such on the map. At the present time it is called Washington Street (cf. G. C. Mason, *Reminiscences of Newport*, p. 37).

[6] Concerning French sea-presses, consult A.-Jacques Parès, "Imprimeries d'escadre," *Extrait du Bulletin de la section de géographie, Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques, 1927, Académie du Var* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale), and H. M. Chapin, "Early sea-presses," *Ars typographica*, II, no. 1 (July, 1925), 39–52, and "More about sea-presses," *American collector*, III, no. 2 (Nov. 1926), 86–88.

[7] The following imprints of French sea-presses are known:

1. *Calendrier français pour l'année commune, 1781.* A Newport, De l'Imprimerie Royale de l'Escadre, près le Parc de la Marine
2. *Gazette françoise.* A Newport, De l'Imprimerie Royale de l'Escadre, rue de la pointe, No. 641
3. *Etrennes américaines où Articles principaux du calendrier pour l'année commune, 1781*
4. *Voyage de Newport à Philadelphie, Albany, &c.*, par M. de Chastellux. A Newport, De l'Imprimerie Royale de l'Escadre
5. *Déclarations addressés au nom du Roi de France, à tous les américains françois de l'Amérique Septentrionale.*, Imprimé à bord du Languedoc par F. P. Demauge, imprimeur du Roi & de l'Escadre (1778)
6. *Signaux de l'escadre du Roi, commandée par M. le comte d'Estaing.*, A bord du Lan-

seven which can be definitely ascribed to them, and of these but very few copies of each have as yet been located. The most voluminous production known is *Voyage de Newport à Philadelphie, Albany, &c*, by the Marquis de Chastellux, of which only twenty-four copies were printed, and of these only seven are known.[8] It is no wonder, then, in the case of the *Gazette françoise*, that copies of an item as destructible as a newspaper should not have been discovered until as late as 1925, when the only copies of it now extant were finally located.

This fortunate discovery was directly due to the publicity given to this early French newspaper in certain American papers by the librarian of the Rhode Island Historical Society, Howard M. Chapin, who later was successful in securing this rare item of Americana for the Society.[9]

It had long been known, however, that a French newspaper of this title actually was printed at Newport in 1780, for advertisements appearing in at least two contemporary Rhode Island gazettes affirmed this fact. The contents of the advertisement published in the *Providence journal* and also in the *Providence gazette*, in both French and English, is as follows:

> Subscriptions for the FRENCH GAZETTE, printed at Newport, are taken in by the Printer hereof, at Half a Dollar per Month.[10]

This advertisement was the only source of information about the *Gazette* available to bibliographers until the discovery of the Rhode Island Historical Society's file in 1925.

---

guedoc de L'Imprimerie de F. P. Demauge, imprimeur du Roi & de l'Escadre, M. DCC. LXXIX

7. *Signaux de jour, à la voile, et à l'ancre, à l'usage de l'armée aux ordres de M. de Vaudreuil.*, A la mer: à bord du Triomphant en 1782

[8] These exist in the N.Y.P.L., N.Y.S.L., H.C.L., Huntington L., private L. of the late Dr. Terry, Franco-American Library of H. C. Wallace, and two copies in the B.N. of Paris.

[9] Provenance of file given in *Ars typographica*, II, no. 3, 221. See also Introduction to the facsimile reprint of the *Gazette*, by H. M. Chapin (New York: Grolier Club, 1926). Original file was purchased for $1,000.

[10] *American journal*, of Providence, Dec. 23, and the *Providence gazette*, Dec. 27, 1780.

This unique file of the *Gazette françoise* consists of seven numbers and one supplement, totaling thirty pages. The issues comprising it are dated and numbered as follows:

No.			No. of Pages
1. Du Vendredi	17 Nov.	1780	4
2. Du Vendredi	24 Nov.	1780	4
3. Du Vendredi	30 Nov.	1780*	4
4. Du Vendredi	8 Déc.	1780	4
5. Du Vendredi	15 Déc.	1780	4
6. Du Vendredi	22 Déc.	1780	4
7. Du Samedi	30 Déc.	1780	4
7. (Supplement)	2 Jan.	1781	2

*Wrongly dated; should be Dec. 1, 1780.

Even now, with a file of the paper itself, which may or may not be complete, at our disposal, there remain questions about the history of the enterprise which its pages do not definitely solve —questions which probably have to await the very unlikely discovery of such business documents as account-books, or even a diary, in order to be conclusively answered. For instance, we should like to know the extent of the circulation of the *Gazette*. Were all of its subscribers members of the French armies or did the French newspaper have some appeal among Americans interested in things French? Furthermore, we should like to know the name of the printer[11] and that of the editor of the *Gazette*, for neither is mentioned as such in its pages. It seems reasonable to assume that the printer was an enlisted member of the fleet. But the muster rolls[12] fail to give the name of anyone serving in that capacity.

Although the identity of the printer need not particularly concern us, it is, on the other hand, rather important to know who the editor was. Was he too an enlisted man, and was the *Gazette* the official organ of the fleet; or was it the product of individual enterprise, let us say of some person of French de-

[11] The name of only one printer of these sea-presses is known: F. P. Demauge, *imprimeur du Roi & de l'escadre*. See n. 7, items 5 and 6.

[12] *Les combattants françois de la guerre américaine, 1778–1783*, Senate Doc. 77 (58th Cong. 2d sess.).

scent of bilingual ability who merely obtained permission to use the Royal Press in order to publish a French newspaper for which an adequate circulation was to be so easily obtainable?

Of the very few advertisements appearing in the seven known issues of the *Gazette françoise*, there are three which throw some light on this question of the identity of the editor of the *Gazette*, and from these we can conclude with a reasonable degree of certainty that the editor of the *Gazette françoise* was a certain John Jastram.

In the issue of December 30, 1780 (no. 7), the editor announces that henceforth the *Gazette* will appear on Tuesdays instead of Fridays, and he gives two addresses where he might be reached:

> Le Rédacteur de la Gazette Française, fait savoir à MM. les abonnés & autres amateurs, ... que les bureaux se tiendront à l'imprimerie de l'escadre, rue de la Pointe, & chez le sieur Eléazar Trevett, dans la Grand'rue, au dessus de la place d'Armes.

This announcement, in itself, does not seem very significant, were it not for the fact that in the supplement of the same issue, dated January 2, 1781, appears the following:

> Il sera donné un prix raisonnable pour des vieux chiffons propres à faire du papier, en s'adressant à l'Imprimerie française, ou au sieur Jastram, chez Eléazar Trevett, dans la Grand'rue, au dessus de la place d'Armes,

From the foregoing advertisements, then, we learn the following facts; first, that the addresses mentioned in both are identical; second, that the "sieur Jastram" mentioned in the second advertisement was connected with the printery in some official capacity.

A third advertisement appearing in an earlier issue of the *Gazette*, that of November 30, 1780 (no. 3), presents this same "sieur Jastram" in the rôle of tutor of the English language, the address given again corresponding with the alternative address given in the above-quoted advertisements:

> Le Sr Jastram ne pouvant satisfaire aux desirs de tous MM. les officiers, en leur donnant à chacun des leçons particulieres, a l'honneur de les informer qu'il

commencera lundi prochain à donner, depuis dix heures jusqu'à douze du matin, & depuis deux jusqu'à quatre l'après-midi, des leçons générales de la langue Anglaise, à son logement chez Eléazar Trevett dans la Grand'rue, où il satisfera plus particulierement sur le mode & les conditions de son Ecole.

Now, with Jastram's connection with the printery established, we learn in addition that he was an individual having a knowledge of both English and French—a knowledge that was indeed necessary for the editorship of the *Gazette*, since the duties of the editor of the *Gazette* consisted entirely, as we shall presently learn, in the translation of news articles from the English into the French language. In searching elsewhere for additional information concerning the life-history of "sieur Jastram," we find that he was born in France, as is stated in the following entry culled from hotel and rooming-house register lists of the town of Walpole:

This may certify that I have let into my house John Jastram [*torn*] family Said Jastram was born in France his wife was born in Provi [*torn*] his son Mony in Smithfield his son John in Walpole (1785).[13]

His name later appears in the files of the corporation of Harvard University where it is stated that John Jastram was appointed tutor of the French language for the school year of 1786–87.[14] Three years later, according to the *First census of the U.S. (Rhode Island)*,[15] John Jestram (Jastram) was then living in Providence town. Occasional advertisements appearing in Providence newspapers between 1790 and 1800 show that he gained a livelihood as a tutor and translator of French and English, having also established in that town a tutoring school. Here the known life-history of John Jastram stops. The registry of wills and deeds of the courthouses of Rhode Island has no record of him, and a direct descendant[16] of his, at present living in Provi-

[13] *The N.E. historical & genealogical reg.*, LVII (1903), 142.

[14] *Quinquennial catalogue . . . . of Harvard Univ., 1636–1905* (Cambridge, 1905), p. 43.

[15] P. 33.

[16] Edward Perkins Jastram, Providence, R.I.

dence, can furnish no family records that shed additional light on the history of his progenitor.

Nevertheless, the foregoing desultory bits of information—the fact that he was connected with the Imprimerie Royale de l'Escadre, that he was a Frenchman, and that he was a tutor and translator of English and French, of sufficient ability to have merited an appointment at Harvard—these lend convincing support in helping us, in the absence of any printed record of the time confirming the identity of the editor of the *Gazette*, to credit him with the honor of being the first to publish a French newspaper in what is now the United States.

Because the *Gazette françoise* was printed on the official press of the French fleet, one would at once suppose that it was the official organ of that fleet. If this were true the *Gazette* would, indeed, be a very valuable historical document. Unfortunately, this is not the case. A study of the contents of this publication will show that there is nothing in it to lead one to suspect that it was edited at staff headquarters, or that it was subject to the official censorship of French authorities. In addition to this observation we must mention that John Jastram's name does not appear on the service records[17] of the French expeditionary forces; that he was not, therefore, an enlisted member of the fleet. All of which indicates that the *Gazette françoise* was not the official organ of the fleet, but was, as we have before this interrogatively intimated, a French newspaper that was the product of individual enterprise—a newspaper whose editor hoped to realize a satisfactory profit in return for the convenience which his services as news-translator afforded a select group of French subscribers.

Before making a study of the contents of the *Gazette françoise*, let us pause at this point to examine its physical characteristics. From the bibliographer's point of view, with the exception of

[17] *Les combattants françois de la guerre américaine, 1778–1783*, Senate Doc. 77 (58th Cong., 2d sess.).

one wrongly dated issue, the *Gazette* presents no extraordinary features. It was a weekly of large quarto size, the printed page, which is divided into two equal columns, measuring $10\frac{5}{8}$ by $6\frac{3}{4}$ inches. The imprint, which appears at the bottom of the last page of each issue, in type varying in size to the amount of space not taken up by the text, is as follows:

A Newport,
De l'Imprimerie Royale de l'Escadre, rue de la pointe, N° 641.

For the typographer the *Gazette* offers a beautiful example of eighteenth-century presswork. The type used, in the opinion of Douglas C. McMurtrie, editor of *Ars typographica*, was undoubtedly from the foundry of Fournier le jeune.[18] There was, evidently, no need on the part of the compositor to cramp for space. Ample margin, paragraph, and title spacing, along with the large type used, render the printed page easily readable. Each issue, however, presents its share of typographical mistakes in misplaced and omitted accents—errors which seem to increase in number with each successive issue. This kind of mistake, along with misspelled words and a few glaring omissions, shows that there was evidently no time to be lost in proofreading. This, indeed, was the case, as we shall learn later on, for the editor of the *Gazette* translated the material that went into his paper, had it set up and printed, all within twenty-four hours.

The thirty pages comprising the Historical Society's unique file, now conveniently and luxuriously bound, have been remarkably well preserved; only a small part of the printed matter of the last page of the last known issue has been destroyed.

This last known issue, a two-page supplement, dated January 2, 1781, was not, in all probability, the last issue published. An announcement by the editor in this issue informs the subscriber that henceforth

... pour la plus grande facilité des nouvelles il donnera sa Gazette tous les Mardis de chaque semaine, à commencer du 9 Janvier, 1781; ...

[18] Chapin, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

How many issues, if any, followed after this change in the date of the weekly appearance of the *Gazette* is not known. In any case, we must infer, in view of the above-quoted editorial announcement, that the supplement of January 2, 1781, was not the last issue published.

"*Gazette françoise*": An Interpretative Analysis of Contents

The ensuing notes on the contents of the successive issues of the *Gazette françoise* will give some idea of its character. On the first page of the initial issue, the editor states the purpose and the intended scope of his paper. With the exception of a few advertisements, these are the only words from the editor's pen that appear in its pages:

> Le projet de donner une Gazette française, ne m'a paru possible que par la facilité d'y introduire la traduction des différentes nouvelles que les papiers américains produisent: c'est sous ce point de vue que j'en ai accepté la rédaction; vraisemblablement ceux de MM. les officiers & autres particuliers qui ne sont pas familiers avec la langue du pays, & qui s'intéressent aux évennemens politiques de cette nation naissante, seront charmés de pouvoir s'en instruire, sans avoir recours au travail de la translation. Je ne m'engagerai donc envers le public, qu'à répéter en français, ce que les Américains auront dit dans leur langue. D'ailleurs, peu accoutumé à me faire imprimer, j'ai besoin dans cette entreprise, de toute l'indulgence de mes Lecteurs. Je vous supplie donc Messieurs, si cet ouvrage peut toucher votre curiosité, de le protéger de vos bontés. Je me ferai un devoir de recevoir les avis de ceux qui me feront l'honneur de s'y intéresser, & d'agir conformément à leurs conseils.

From the foregoing declaration on the part of the editor we learn exactly what function the *Gazette* endeavored to perform. First, it was to serve as an organ of intelligence to the officers and others of the French forces. Consequently it was categorically destined to be a "service newspaper" of limited circulation. Second, as an organ of intelligence it meant to supply its subscribers merely with a digest of various news items translated into French for their convenience from contemporary

American newspapers. Thus, realizing these two things, we have an appreciative understanding of the limited rôle the *Gazette* played. Although the present-day historian might expectantly search its pages for new material, let us say, even for "local color" on the history of France's amicable invasion of America, he will do so in vain. There is nothing in it, with the exception of a few advertisements,[19] that is not to be found in other newspapers of the time.

In the editing of the *Gazette françoise*, its editor closely followed the accepted journalistic methods of the time; the symbol of the eighteenth-century editor was a pair of scissors and not a quill. The local newspapers which furnished material for this French newspaper were the *American journal*, the *Providence gazette*, and the *Newport mercury*. This last, of course, was its chief source of news. Unfortunately but two issues of the *Newport mercury* covering the period of publication of the *Gazette*

[19] Of the advertisements appearing in the *Gazette*, there is one which possesses some bibliographic interest. It is the one announcing the publication of the *Calendrier français* (see n. 7) which was printed by this Imprimerie Royale de l'Escadre:

> "MM. les Officiers & autres particuliers Français, sont avertis qu'l paroîtra dans le courant du mois de Janvier prochain,
>
> LE CALENDRIER FRANÇAIS,
>
> *ou*
>
> ALMANACH,
>
> Pour l'An de Grace, 1781.
>
> Contenant, outre le calcul ordinaire, quelques Anecdotes relatives à la Révolution du Pays; l'Etat de l'Armée Américaine & Française; & celui des routes du Continent, &c.

Two copies of this *Calendrier* have been found: one in the Rhode Island Historical Society, the other in the private library of G. L. Shepley. The other advertisements are relatively unimportant; e.g., there is the one of "Phineas Salomon Lemonnier, schoolmaster," who "begs leave to acquaint the ladies and gentlemen, in the town of Newport, that he has opened a French and English school" (issue of Jan. 2, 1781); another which announces, "The Free and Accepted Masons are warned to assemble at the house of Mr. John Lawton . . . ." (issue of Dec. 22, 1780).

are extant—those of November 23 and December 14, 1780. But a comparison of these issues with the corresponding issues of the *Gazette* will show to what extent the *Gazette* was dependent upon the *Mercury* for its news. The following excerpts from the *Mercury* of November 23 and from the *Gazette* of November 24 will furnish sufficient illustration:

FROM THE *Mercury* OF NOV. 23, P. 2

SOUTH-CAROLINA, August 1780

Copy of Lord Cornwallis's letter to Lieutenant-Colonel Nesbit Baifour, commanding at Ninety-Six:

I have given orders that all the inhabitants of this province, who have subscribed and taken part in the revolt, should be punished with the greatest rigour; . . . . I desire you will take the most rigorous measures to punish the rebels in the district in which you command, and that you will obey in the strictest manner, the directions I have given in this letter, relative to the inhabitants of this country.

[*Signed*] CORNWALLIS

Ibid.

NORWICH, Nov. 7

We hear, that the Senate of the State of New York have given instruction to their delegates, to motion in that august body, that when any State. . . . .

Ibid.

Extract of a letter from a gentleman of character, dated St. Eustacia, October 3:

There is some talk of a Dutch war. Every dispatch is blurred in Holland for equipping their navy. They will shortly have fifty ships. . . . .

Ibid., p. 3

A few days ago a ship of 300 tons, from Jamaica bound to London, having on her passage met with bad weather, in which she was obliged to throw all her guns overboard and stave 70 hhds rum between decks put into Canso-harbour on the Nova-Scotia shore to refit. . . . .

FROM THE *Gazette* OF NOV. 24, P. 2

CAROLINE MÉRIDIONALE, Août 1780

Copie d'une Lettre du Lord Cornwalis, au Lieutenant-Colonel Nuisbet Baifour, mandant à Ninety-Six.

Monsieur:

J'ai donné des ordres pour que tous les habitans de cette province qui ont souscrit & pris part à la révolte, soient punis avec la derniere rigueur, ... Je vous prie de prendre les mesures les plus rigoureuses, pour punir les revelles dans le district où vous commandé, & de suivre de la maniere le plus stricte, les instructions que je vous donne dans cette Lettre, relativement aux habitans de ce pays.

[*Signé*] CORNWALIS

Ibid., p. 4

NORWICH, le 7 Novembre

Nous apprenons que le Sénat de l'Etat de New-York a chargé leur

Délegué au Congrès de mettre en motion dans cet auguste corps. Que lorsqu'un Etat. ...

Ibid., p. 3

Extrait d'une Lettre écrite de St Eustache, par un homme de considération, le 3 Octobre:

On parle ici de guerre. On fait en Hollande la plus grande diligence pour équiper la Flotte. Les Hollandois auront dans peu cinquant Vaisseaux. ...

Ibid., p. 4

Un vaisseau de 300 tonneaux sorti de la Jamaique & allant à Londres, ayant été battu d'une furieuse tempête, a été forcé de jetter tous ses canons à la mer, & après avoir défoncé 70 tonneaux de rum dans son entrepont, de relâcher dans le port de Canso-Harbour, dans la Nouvelle Ecosse, pour se rétablir. ...

In fact, all but the first page of the *Gazette* were taken directly from the *Mercury*. The surprising thing, of course, is that the editor of the *Gazette* translated and had his paper printed within twenty-four hours after the appearance of the *Mercury*. This, indeed, fully accounts for the number of typographical errors and the hurried set-up which the *Gazette* shows. Not that the *Gazette* is exactly the same as the *Mercury;* the editor of the *Gazette* evidently tried to disguise the origin of his news articles by a rearrangement of headings. For example, he prints under the heading "de Newport, le 23 Octobre" the following:

Un particulier qui vient d'arriver ici, nous a communiqué les nouvelles suivantes, qui ont été publiées il y a quelques jours à Richmond, du supplément de la Gazette de Virginie, savoir; ...[20]

The same introduction appears in the *Mercury* as *faits divers* under the heading "Philadelphia." All of which means that there really was no individual in Newport who supplied the information, but that the *Gazette françoise* cut from the *Mercury*, which cut from a certain Philadelphia paper, which in turn cut from the *Virginia gazette*. The "il y a quelques jours" was, in fact, more than a month ago. This is, indeed, an interesting commentary on the expedition of news and journalistic methods of the eighteenth-century American editor.

[20] *Gazette* of Nov. 24 and *Mercury* of Nov. 23, 1780.

The only other issues of the *Gazette* and the *Mercury* which can be compared for sources are those of December 15 and 14 respectively. This is rather futile, however, for the simple reason that Henry Barber, the editor of the *Mercury*, was able "to publish but half of the sheet" because of a lack of paper. This, undoubtedly, explains why the *Gazette* of December 15, instead of containing news articles, is largely filled with two leading articles: one, a "Traduction d'une addresse au peuple, par sens commun"; the other, a detailed account of the ravages of a hurricane which destroyed some of the islands of the West Indies—articles which appeared earlier in the *Providence gazette* and in the *American journal*. The proximity of the publication dates of the *Mercury* and the *Gazette* is the reason, no doubt, why the editor of the *Gazette*, in the issue of January 2, 1781, announces a change in the date of publication; as he very frankly states," ... pour la plus grande facilité des nouvelles. ..."

The first issue of the *Gazette françoise* is an interesting bit of Arnoldiana. In fact, the activities of Brigadier General Arnold, "ci-devant major-général au service de l'Amérique," are the subject of articles throughout the first few issues. The first two pages present his proclamation addressed to the soldiers of the Continental Army, inviting them to join the Army of His Majesty. This is followed by some editor's comment to the effect that "ce libelle caractérise le personnage de son auteur" and that it shows the impuissance of the English since they "placent à leur tête un object si digne du mépris du vrai soldat et de l'honnête homme." The rest of the issue is war news—the activities of the various fleets and brief accounts of land engagements of more or less importance. But one quarter-column is given to that most important battle at King's Mountain, which broke the British hold in the South. Issue 2 is made up principally of extracts of several letters from Virginia, telling of the activities of the English fleet in southern waters. The third issue contains

more foreign news than the two preceding. There is the account of a raid of a mob on the Catholic church of Bath. The crowd, shouting "No Popery," in a short time destroyed the church and adjacent buildings. The rest of the news items are again concerned with the several French, English, and Spanish fleets. The next issue contains nothing of particular note—the usual assortment of brief news items from the larger cities. The fifth issue contains but four articles. The first page and a half presents a translation of an address to the people by Tom Paine. There is a long account of the ravages caused by a hurricane in the West Indies, and the obituary notice of De Ternay. The sixth issue continues the story of the disaster suffered in the West Indies. The last number presents an article, a column and a half long, entitled "Portrait du Général Washington," which was translated from the *Providence gazette* of December 27. The supplement to this issue is made up chiefly of another article by Paine, "La crise extraordinnaire," extracts of which appeared in continuation in the *Mercury* of November 16 and 23, 1780.

The foregoing brief outline of the more important articles in the *Gazette françoise* gives a fair idea of the kind of news it printed. The *Gazette*, indeed, leaves much to be desired. How much more valuable it would be today if it presented a more intimate picture of the activities of the French soldiers during their temporary encampment in and about Newport. But we cannot expect more of it than was its purpose. As it catered principally to the officers of the French expeditionary forces, one naturally would find those items of war news which the editor of the *Gazette* considered to be of most interest to the subscribers.

The *Gazette françoise*, like its contemporary American newspapers, published news of a general nature; the only items of local interest are a few advertisements. It made no pretense of being, let us say, an organ of political propaganda as were most of the French-American newspapers that were to follow.

Neither did it profess to show originality nor have literary ambitions. It was merely a news digest serving a small, select group.

The *Gazette françoise*, in itself, is a record of little or no historical value, and its chief worth today lies in the fact that it is now known to be the first newspaper printed in the French language in what is now the United States.

THE "RELATION OF A LATE EXPEDITION TO ST. AUGUSTINE," WITH BIOGRAPHICAL AND BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES ON ISAAC AND EDWARD KIMBER

By Sidney A. Kimber

THE rare pamphlet entitled the *Relation or journal of a late expedition to St. Augustine under General James Oglethorpe* tells the story of the counterattack made in 1743 by the founder of Georgia after his brilliant defeat of the Spanish attempt against Georgia in 1742. This journal of a young British officer under Oglethorpe is embodied in a letter addressed, its title-page says, to the Rev. Mr. Isaac K——r. The text is signed "G. L. Campbell v. E.K." In the printed catalogue of the British Museum, the book is entered under the name Campbell, and in all catalogues I have seen until lately that ascription of authorship is maintained. In the *Catalogue of the Wymberley Jones De Renne Library*, published in 1931, it is correctly attributed to Edward Kimber on the basis of a series of skilful deductions set forth by Mr. Leonard L. Mackall of Savannah, in the *Georgia historical quarterly*, II (June, 1918), 71. In that article Mr. Mackall concluded his note on the *Relation* with the words: "I am trying to find out more about Kimber."

It is now the privilege of the great-great-grandson of Edward Kimber to tell any who are interested "more about Kimber," and to show from documentary evidence that Mr. Mackall's ingenious deductions were correct in every detail—that the author of the *Relation* was, indeed, Edward Kimber, "a Gentleman Voluntier in the said Expedition," and that the Rev. Mr. Isaac K——r of its title-page was Isaac Kimber, father of Edward and a man-of-letters well known in the London literary world of the

period as, among other activities, editor of the *London magazine*.

The documentary evidence upon which the proof of this problem of authorship rests is found in the inscriptions upon a copy of the *Relation* itself which I have inherited, and, distinctly stated, in the pages of a still greater literary treasure—a notebook begun by Edward Kimber in the year 1762. In its green parchment binding this little book of $6 \times 3\frac{1}{2}$ inches has withstood the vicissitudes of five generations. It contains many genealogical notes, including a transcript in Latin from the family Bible owned by Isaac Kimber. Each generation has added its notes of birth and death. The book has thus become a record of the greatest interest to the Kimber family, but it is its wider literary interest that concerns us now. In it are listed in Edward Kimber's hand the writings, prose and verse, of Isaac Kimber and his sons Edward and Richard, and, in great detail, the payments received by Edward for his contributions to current periodicals, for indexing, editing, and compiling, and for other work that he performed at the behest of various booksellers. It is, in this sense, a perfect Grub Street record, and it has the additional value of clearing up more than one literary mystery of the period. A page of the notebook is reproduced on page 93.

Entered in its proper chronological place in this record of the varied literary labors of the Kimbers, under the heading "Written by E. Kimber," is "A Relation, or Journal, of a late Expedition to y^e^ Gates of St. Augustine, etc.," with full title and imprint of the book we are discussing. In another section of the book is the following brief itinerary of Edward Kimber's American travels:

Embkd at Grvsnd, in y^e^ Br. Grffths, for New York Sept. 11. 1742. arrivd there Nov. 1. Id. An.—Emb^d^ in y^e^ Nightingale. Sloop, Newbould, Nov. 13, 1742.—arrived at Sene-puxon, in Maryland Nov. 20.—Travelled thro' Golden Quarter, Acomoco, Worcester & Northamptonshires, & crossd y^e^ Bay of Chesapeak, from Magidi Bay, & arrivd at York, in Virginia, Nov. 25.—

Embᵏᵈ there, in yᵉ Sloop, Bradley, Lucas, for Grga, Dec. 23, & arriv'd in St. Simon's Harbour, Jan. 7. 1742.—Left Frdrca, in yᵉ Cutter, Mar. 23, 1744, arrived at the Darien, yᵉ same night, & at Wormsloe Mar. 29. Next day visited Savannah, & arriv'd at Fort Frederick, near Beaufort, in South Carolina, in yᵉ Scout boat, Apr. 5. Departed from Beaufort, on Port Royal Island, yᵉ next day, by land, & arriv'd at Charles Town Apr. 10. Embarkd there in the Two Sisters, Stedman, bound for Cowes & Rotterdam, on Apr. 20, & on May 2, our Capt. reslved to go north about, which we did, in company with yᵉ Rachael, Perkins, & yᵉ . . . . , Cox. Saw Foula June 7, made yᵉ Orkneys & Shetland 2 days after, & arrived at Leith, near Edinburgh, after beating 3 days in yᵉ Frith of Forth, June 15.—Set sail from Leith in yᵉ sloop Cuthbert, Whitby, for Newcastle, June 21; but were forced to put into Holy Island, June 23. On yᵉ 24ᵗʰ took passage in yᵉ smack, Loyalty, for Gravesend, and arrivd at Holy Haven, July 1, 1744. The next day sailed in a wherry for Gravesend, & from thence, next day, in yᵉ Tilt-boat, for London. Tuesday, July 7, 1744, took stage to Harwich, and return'd from Colchester yᵉ next day. Oct. 10, 1744, at Gadalminᵗ & Haselmere, to yᵉ 14ᵗʰ. Sept. 13, 1745, relieved Capt. Geo. Dunbar, on board yᵉ Success of 40 Guns, Thompson, in yᵉ Gallions, below Woolwich, my party consisted of 4 Serjeants, 3 Corporals, 1 drum, 59 private, 33 Women & 12 Children. Relieved Oct 1, by Lieutenant Wansel.

In another part of the notebook is the following:

From March 10, 1743, to Dec. 4, 1748, recᵈ for Musters, as Second Ensign, of Peregrine Traye, Esq. £99:14:0.

It is to be observed that there are no entries in this itinerary from January 7, 1742/43, when the writer reached St. Simon's Harbour, Georgia, until March 23, 1743/44, when he left Frederica upon his return journey to England. The period of the expedition February 26, 1742/43, to March 31, 1743, is passed over in silence, as are the incidents of the year, presumably spent at Frederica, which followed it before his return to England. It was from Frederica that the letter to Isaac Kimber, our *Relation*, was written under the date of July 29, 1743. Undoubtedly Kimber felt there was no need of recording in the notebook an itinerary of an expedition so fully covered in this letter addressed to his father and printed in 1744.

[1] Before his marriage General Oglethorpe's home was in Godalming in Surrey, and he was the parliamentary representative of Haslemere for thirty-two years. (See *Life of General Oglethorpe* by Henry Bruce.)

We return now to the copy of the pamphlet I have spoken of as having come into my possession by inheritance. This copy of the *Relation* forms one of a bound volume of pamphlets,[2] chiefly about America, that once belonged to my ancestor Edward Kimber. The evidence its several inscriptions present as to his authorship of the *Relation* is of an interesting character.

At the top of the title-page E. Kimber has written his name; and between the words "Gentleman" and "Voluntier" he placed a cross × referring to a footnote, thus: "× Mr. Edward Kimber." On the first page of text in the top margin is written "Susanna Kimber[3] y^e^ Gift of y^e^ Dear Au[ ] April y^e^ 24, 17[ ][4]."

On page 36 in the top margin is "Dear Sukey Kimber"; and the concluding words on the same page were completely changed by Edward Kimber, who obliterated certain words and added others.

[2] The bound volume contains: (1) "A/letter/from a/Citizen of London/to his/Fellow Citizen,/. . . ./occasioned by the late/Earthquakes/wherein/some Vices of the Great are particularly/exposed. . . . .

London 1750 [by Edward Kimber]"

(2) *A relation or journal* (the Oglethorpe pamphlet)

(3) "A fair/Representation/of/His Majesty's Right/to/Nova-Scotia or Acadie/Briefly stated from the/Memorials of the English/Commissaries;/with an/Answer to the Objections/contained/In the French Memorials,/and/In a Treatise, Entitled/Discussion Sommaire sur les anciennes/Limites de l'Acadie/London/Printed by Edward Owen, in Warwick Lane/MDCCLVI [64 pages]."

(4) *Universal magazine*, March, 1750. This contains a "Discourse on the loadstone" (by Edward Kimber).

(5) "Observations/On the Late and Present/Conduct of the French,/With Regard to their/Encroachments/upon the/British Colonies/in/North America/together/With Remarks on the Importance of/these Colonies to Great Britain./By William Clarke, M.D./of Boston in New England./To which is added, wrote by another Hand,/Observations concerning the Increase of Man-/Kind, Peopling of Countries, &c./Boston Printed:/London Re-printed for John Clarke/under the Royal Exchange, Cornhill, 1755 [54 pages]. [These appended observations are by Benjamin Franklin, written in 1751; see *Franklin's writings*, ed. Smyth, III, 63–73, 287.]"

(6) "A concise/Description/of the/English and French/Possessions/in/North-America,/For the better explaining of the Map/published with that Title./By/J. Palairet, Agent of their High Mightinesses/the States General of the United Provinces, &c/. . . ./London/. . . MDCCLV/[70 pages]."

[3] Edward Kimber's wife.

[4] My copy measures $8 \times 4\frac{3}{4}$ inches and, when bound with the other pamphlets, had been trimmed, cutting off completion of date, &c.

A

RELATION,

OR

JOURNAL,

Of a late

EXPEDITION to the Gates of St. *Auguſtine*, on *Florida:*

Conducted by

The Hon. General JAMES OGLETHORPE, with a Detachment of his Regiment, *&c.* from *Georgia.*

In a LETTER to the Reverend Mr. ISAAC K------R in *London.*

By a Gentleman, Voluntier in the ſaid Expedition.

LONDON:

Printed for T. ASTLEY, at the *Roſe*, in St. *Paul's Church-Yard* M.DCC.XLIV.

The change is as follows:

. . . . ~~Tho' you have lost, for a Time, your dear E . . . . K . . . . r, yet you may ever expect the same tender requisite and due Regards from him, who, tho' in Name different, in Sentiment will always be like him: and to you, to whom I owe all I am, or possess in my mind,~~

I am, hon^{d} S^{r}

Your ~~Ever~~ most dutiful, obedient, and affectionate Son

~~G. L. Campbell~~

~~v.~~ E.K.

The words stricken through are completely obliterated in my copy, and those I have underscored above are in the handwriting of Edward Kimber.

Mr. Alfred W. Pollard, the distinguished bibliographer (at that time the keeper of printed books in the British Museum), in a letter to me dated October 14, 1923, supplied the obscure words from the copy of the *Relation* in that library. He would not venture a guess as to the meaning of the changes, but said there was "some little game in all this." So far as any explanation of the use of the name Campbell is concerned, the "game" has not yet been played out.

The complete entry in the catalogue of the Wymberley Jones De Renne Georgia Library (I, 117), regarding the De Renne copy of the pamphlet, is as follows:

[Kimber, Edward, alias G. L. Campbell, 1719–1769]
Relation of a Late Expedition to the Gates of St. Augustine,
London, for T. Astley, 1744.
8 vo.

Collation by Signatures: A–D, each 4 leaves; E, 2 leaves; total 18 numbered leaves.

Collation by Pagination: [title-page, as reproduced. p. 118] p. [1];—[blank], p. [2];—[text, with heading] [2 single rules]/A/Relation/or/Journal,/Of a late/Expedition, &c/[dated] Camp, at Frederica, July 29, 1743/, pp [3]—36;—[signed]/Ever most dutiful, obedient, and affectionate,/G. L. Campbell,/v. E.K./, p. 36

"Condition = Size of leaf, $7\frac{3}{4} \times 4\frac{3}{4}$; 19.6×12 centimetres. Bound in green morocco, gilt sides, tooled with two frames of fillets, with inside border-lines, marbled end papers, and gilt top, back lettered lengthwise. Note: The author

of this pamphlet was Edward Kimber who also wrote "Itinerant Observations in America," published in the London Magazine, 1745–6, reprinted in the Georgia Historical Society Collections, Vol. IV, and also separately, in 1878. This authorship was discovered by L. L. Mackall (See Georgia Historical Quarterly, Vol. II June, 1918, p. 71).

Seven copies of this pamphlet have been located: One as above; a second is in the John Carter Brown Library, Providence, R.I.; a third is in the Clements Library, Ann Arbor, Mich.; a fourth in the Newberry Library, Chicago, Ill.; a fifth was advertised in Henry Stevens, Son & Stiles *Catalogue of rare Americana*, no. 5 [1933] under "Campbell" without mention of Kimber and was priced at £45; the sixth is in the British Museum; and the seventh is in the possession of the writer.

Mr. Mackall, in proving the authorship, for Edward Kimber, of the Oglethorpe pamphlet, called attention to the "Itinerant observations in several voyages and travels in America," which were reprinted for the Georgia Historical Society, forming Volume IV of their "Collections." These "Itinerant observations" were taken from the *London magazine*, 1745–46. He observes that in the November, 1746, issue of the *London magazine* there is a statement that the author had contributed to it as "Americus," "Cynicus," "Cimber," and "Historicus."[5] Had Mr. Mackall been interested in discovering the editors of the *London magazine* itself, I am sure he would have been as successful as he was in determining the authorship of the Oglethorpe *Journal*, even without the assistance of my old notebook with its several clues.

[5] In Volume XV, *London magazine* (July, 1746), is the continuation of the "Itinerant observations." At the conclusion of this article there is a letter "To the Author of the London Magazine," which is here quoted as follows:

". . . . As to his Account of Florida, you have the Substance of it in a Pamphlet lately publish'd by him. ˣ. . . .

Signed Anonymus [Isaac Kimber]"

"ˣFootnote: Expedition to St. Augustine, printed for T. Astley in the year 1744."

In this same Volume XV (Dec., 1746), at the conclusion of an instalment of the "Itinerant observations," appears this note: "N.B. The Gentleman who has appear'd in our Collection under the Characters of Americus, Cynicus, Cimber, Historicus, is the Author of the Itinerant Observations in America."

THE LONDON MAGAZINE AND THE KIMBERS

In the General Index, 1760, of the first twenty-seven volumes, 1732–58, of the *London magazine* (which in the notebook Edward calls "*My* General Index") there are listed the contributions by his father Isaac, his brother Richard, and himself. The inference is plain that he did not compile the indexes to each annual volume, which are not so amplified in form as his General Index. This index adds to Edward's aliases: "Indicus," "Peregrinus Vespucianus," "P.V.," "P.V. Cimber," "P.V. Democritus," "G.L.C.*v.*E.K.," "E.K.*v.*G.L.C." In one instance, Volume XIII (July, 1744), page 343, the initials are transposed to read "L.G.C.," and there they stand alone.

Reference to the articles signed so variously discloses the relationship between the Kimbers and the *London magazine*. For instance, in Volume XIII (Nov., 1744), page 563, is an ode "The Happy Pair," dedicated to Miss Susanna Lunn (E.K.'s fiancée). Another to her, entitled "Song," on page 462 (Sept., 1744); an acrostic "Susanna Anne L.K." in Volume XIII (Aug., 1744), page 408, signed "Peregrinus Vespucianus"; an epitaph with the hidden acrostic "Richard Kimber" in Volume XVII (June, 1748), page 280; an epitaph with another hidden acrostic "George Thorpe Kimber" (E.K.'s infant son) in Volume XVII (July, 1748), page 325; "Letter to his son," by Rev. Isaac Kimber, whose pseudonym here is "Sophronius," in Volume XIII (July, 1744), page 343. This letter was written as though Edward had just sailed for America. In reply to this, in Volume XIII (July, 1744), page 355, is Edward's "letter [dated Mar. 2, 1743] from a distant part of the world to his father in London." It is in two parts, the second beginning on page 405 (Aug., 1744). There were several other family references; and to show the friendship that must have existed between the Ackers, the printers and one of the proprietors of the *London magazine*, there is a poem on the death of Mrs. Ackers, in Volume XV (May, 1746), page 259, and one on the death of Mr. [John]

Ackers, in Volume XXV (Apr., 1756), page 191, both by Edward Kimber. Mrs. Ackers was named Margaretta Maria, and Edward Kimber named a daughter after her.

Besides the "Itinerant observations," Edward Kimber contributed: "Letter on the present danger of our colonies in North America" in Volume XIII (Sept., 1744), page 444–46; "His parallel between the late Earl of Peterborough and General Oglethorpe" in Volume XIII (Nov., 1744), pages 541–46; "Song," at New York, Volume XII (July, 1743), page 352; poem, "Fidenia" (a very beautiful negro girl, aged sixteen, whom he met in America). In this poem he relates how he narrowly escaped drowning in the great Bay of C[hesapeake]. This poem is signed E.K. *v.* G.L.C. and is in Volume XIII (Mar., 1744), page 147.

In the "Memoirs of the life and writings of the Reverend Mr. Isaac Kimber," prefixed to his sermons, published posthumously by the son Edward, it states that after disappointing experiences in the ministry, "He [Isaac] again recurred to his fast and faithful friend, Mr. Ackers, who reinstated him in his former place.[6] . . . . The late Mrs. Mary Ackers loved him as a father and the present Mrs. Margaretta Maria Ackers ever shewed him respect and deference. . . . . "

Coupled with the statement in the notebook that both Isaac and Edward Kimber were authors[7] of the *London magazine*, the references given above are offered as evidence of the claim that they should be so recognized.

Neither the *British Museum catalogue* nor the *Dictionary of national biography* accord them this honor.

The list of their literary contributions, together with the sums of money received for their labor, as given by Edward Kimber in the notebook of 1762, is given below.

It is not difficult to visualize these "Grub Street" writers of

[6] Evidently he corrected for the Ackers while he was preparing himself for the ministry.

[7] In the eighteenth century editors were frequently called "authors."

the eighteenth century, scholarly men who, by force of circumstances, eked out a mere pittance writing, correcting, and compiling for the booksellers, and who very often died worn out with anxiety and fatigue.

This extract from the notebook, in addition to its particular interest, has importance as a document illustrating the conditions of the English literary and publishing world of the eighteenth century.

A "GRUB STREET" RECORD

The Rev^{d} M^{r} Isaac Kimber was the Author of

1. The Life of Oliver Cromwell, 8vo[8]
2. Hist. of Eng. 4 Vol's. 8vo Vols. 3 & 4
3. Life of Bp Beveridge.
4. Reign of Geo. 2. at end of Howell.
5. Hist. of Eng. 1 Vol. 8vo[9]
6. Monthly Chronicle
7. Lond. Mag. from 1732 to 1755.

} See his Life, prefix'd to his Posthumous volume of sermons

Various pieces, in prose & Verse, in y^{e} Lond. Magazines, for particulars see *Kimber, Rev. M^{r}. Isaac* in *my* Gen. Index to that work Index I. II. III. IV

M^{r} Richard Kimber, my brother, wrote,

On y^{e} Departure of a Gent. to foreign Parts, in Lond. Mag. July, 1744.

A Song, in Lond. Mag. Dec. 1744. (see K——r, M^{r} R——d,) in Index II. of *my* Gen. Index to Lond. Mag.

Written by E. Kimber:

Various Poetical pieces, printed in the London Magazine, vide y^{e} Index or to y^{e} several Volumes.

For a complete list of these Miscellaneous productions, see Index II. To y^{e} Poetry, In *my* General Index to y^{e} first 27 Volumes of that work (under y^{e} Article, *Kimber, M^{r}. Edward*) printed for R. Baldwin, 1760, in 8vo.—omitted therein, ye Departure, a song, in March 1734. [sic]

Various miscellaneous pieces, prosaical, printed in y^{e} London Magazine, vide y^{e} Index or to y^{e} several Volumes. For a complete List, see Index I. To y^{e} Essays, &c. In *my* Gen. Index to y^{e} first 27 volumes of that work. (under y^{e} article, Kimber, M^{r} Edward) printed, &c. (as above.)

A Relation, or Journal, of a late Expedition to y^{e} Gates of St. Augustine, in Florida, conducted by y^{e} Hon. Gen. James Oglethorpe, with a detachm^{t} of

[8] Printed for Brotherton & Cox, 8vo, 1st ed., 1724; 2d ed., 1725; 3d ed., 1731; 4th ed., 1741. Also translated and published in French, 1725.

[9] 1st ed., 1745; 2d ed.; 3d ed., 1762.

his Regiment, &c. from Georgia. In a Letter to y^e^ rev. M^r^ Isaac K——r, in London. By a Gentleman voluntier in that Expedition. Printed for Thomas Astley, in St. Paul's Churchyard, pr. 6^d^. 1744.

A Discourse on the Loadstone and its surprizing properties, in y^e^ Universal Mag. for March, 1750 (10/6)

Letter from a Citizen of London, to his fellow citizens, &c. &c. occasioned by y^e^ late Earthquakes. Printed for J. Hinton, at y^e^ King's Arms in St. Paul's Church Yard, 1750 (1.1.0) pr. 6^d^

The Life and Adventures of Joe Thompson,[10] a narrative founded on fact, written by himself. Two volumes, 12° printed for J. Hinton & W. Frederick pr 6^s^

31.10.0

Essays in y^e^ Westminster Journal * Apr 27 and May 4, 1751 Former on y^e^ Office of Chamberlayne, & y^e^ latter on royal instances of humanity. Feb. 2. 1754 Oliver [obscure]

* West. Journal. Feb 9 Robt. Trimwell—16. Britannicus—23. Changeable—all in 1754, & y^e^ Foreign for those weeks 1.11.6

Additions to y^e^ Several Indexes to y^e^ 20 1^st^

Volumes of y^e^ Gentleman's Magazine, and compiling the Whole Index, 1 Vol. 8^vo^ printed for E. Cave, 1752. 20 l.

The Adventures of James Ramble, Esq. 2V. 12° printed for E. Cave, 31.2.0 published by R. Baldwin, 175[..]

Index to Miscellaneous Correspondence 10/6.

Wrote y^e^ Cra[obscure] from to

Assisted in y^e^ Gent. Mag. at 1 l. pr. month, from Aug. 1752 to Jan. 1755, & made y^e^ Indexes to 1752,3, and 1754, at 3 l. each.

Editing y^e^ first Edition of y^e^ Companion to y^e^ Almanack 175[.] in which particularly wrote y^e^ Hist. Eng. 1 sheet & quarter; Description of Anc^t^ Britain, of England, its Gov^t^ Trade, &c. 8.0.0. printed for T. Jeffreys corner St. Martin's Lane.

Translating mails & collecting for Evening Advertiser for 7 months at 1 l. per week. 1754.

List of Fairs in England & Wales, Owen 5.11.6

[10] First edition issued (anonymous) in 1750 in London; another edition, also anonymous, was issued in Dublin for Robert Main, bookseller, in 1750 (not the same typesetting as the London edition of same date); 2d ed., 1751; 3d ed., 1775; 4th ed., 1783. Translated into French, *La vie etc.*, and published in 1762.

Since the reading of this paper, a search has been made for the novels listed by Edward Kimber in his notebook. Eight titles, all issued anonymously, have now been definitely ascribed to him, and a critical review of the novels with an account of this literary discovery is being prepared by Mr. Frank Gees Black of Cambridge, Mass.

History of & Life & Adventures of Mr. Anderson 3 V. Owen 2d Edit. D [obscure]. 6.6.0

Tradesman's D [obscure] 7.7.0

Annals for family Library 3 numbers 1.11.6

Gardener's pocket book 10/6

Altering Index to Sydenham's works by Swan 3d Edit. of which was ye Editor, 1753. 3.3.0

Angler's Magazine. 2.2.0

Adventures of Capt. Neville Frowde, 12. pr ... for .... 3.3.0 Bouquet, cheated, &c

Assisted Arthur Collins Esq. in his last Edition of ye Peerage, at 15s per week, for abt 30 weeks to Feb 18, 1755.

Feb. 5, 1755, began to compile ye Lond. Mag.[11] which did to Mar. 17, 1757 at 2 l pr month, when had 2.10.6 to July 1760 & from thence to now 3 l. 5.5.0 for 1761 . . correcting

Corrected from Feb. 5. 1755, for Mr. Ackers to . . . . at ten Shillings per week, & thence to his death at 12s.

Abridging ye last part of Young's Dict. Edit. 1, & drawing up title & preface, &c. July, 1755. 3.3.0 & a copy.

The Life & Adventures of David Ranger, Esq. 21.12.0

Oct. 27. 1757 Campaign of 1756 for a map of Bowles 10/6

Altered Index to [obscure] Surgery— 3.3.0

Dec. 27. History of Assyria 2.2.0

May 4. Addit. to Ralegh's Hist. Eng. pr. for Baldwin from 1756. 5.5.0

Index to Court Kalendar, 1758. 5s

1763 Index for small Hist. Bible Knox 1.1.0

For reading Young's Dict. 2d Edit. 16.2.6

1764. Correcting Roose's Bookkeeping &c 5.8.0

1758. The Happy Orphans, 2 V. 22.1.0

1759. Acc of Consp. in Portugal 3.3.0

From May 15, 1759, to did foreign of Owen's Chronicle @10/6 week & 3 Indexes 3.3.0 ¢ & wrote . . . . numbers of an Essay entitled The Rhapsody

July 28, 1759. began to correct for B. at 12s wch continued to Sept. 1 when raised to 15s to July 1760 when had 1.1.0 to May 6, 1761.

1760, Editing Universal Pocket Book 5.5.0

Altering Index to Lex Mercatoria 6.6.0

1761 Reign Geo. II. added to Fr's Hist. Eng. 6.6.0

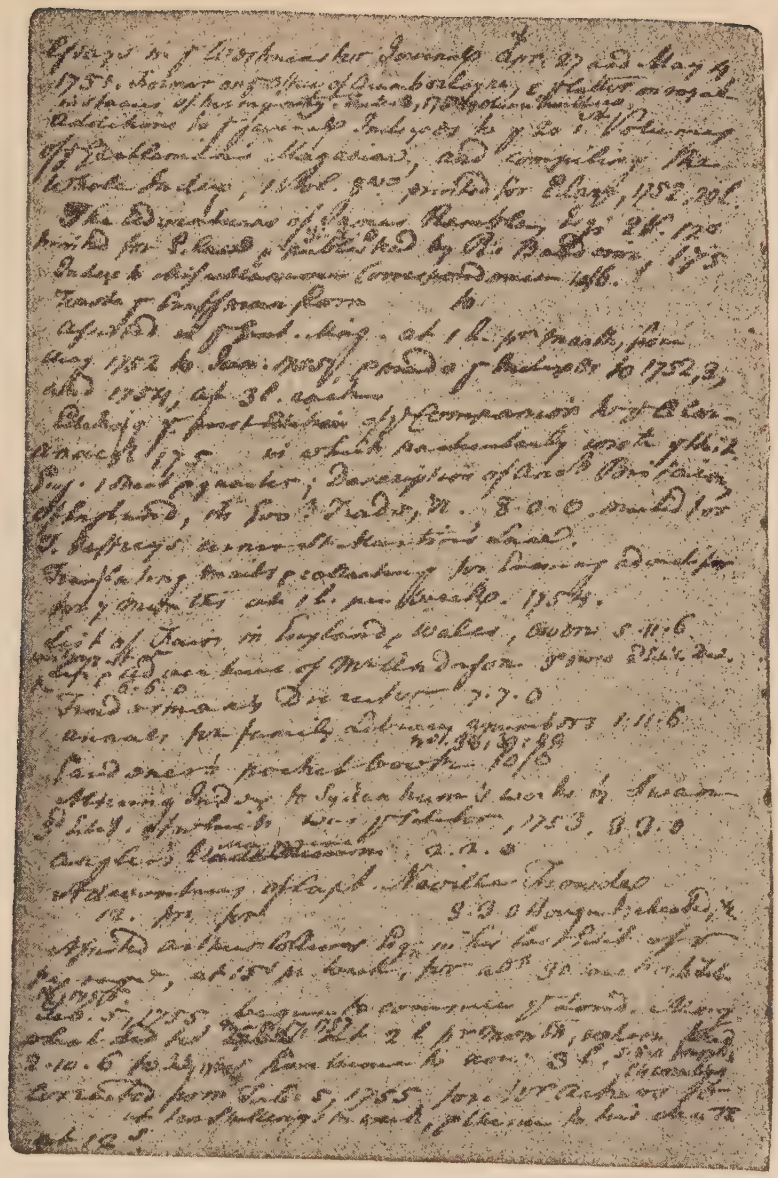
1762. Diary for St. James's Evening Chron. 8vo 4.14.6

1762. Ladies Complete Letter Writer 7.7.0 2nd Edit 3.3.0

1763. James Roberts [obscure] &c 5.5.0

1763. Maria 2 V. 15.15.0 & 5.5.0

[11] Isaac Kimber died in 1755, and Edward succeeded him as compiler.



A PAGE FROM EDWARD KIMBER'S NOTEBOOK CONTAINING ONE OF THE REFERENCES TO THE LONDON MAGAZINE

1763.4 & 5 Business relative to y^e^ Peerage 11-1-0 & 7.1.6
1762 Index to y^e^ Illustrations 10.10.0 & 5.0.0
Concordance 8^vo^. 21.0.0 & 5.0.0
Gen. Index to y^e^ first 27 Vols L. Mag. 27 Guin^s^,
(Many before this [obscure] book

The History of Inland Navigation, particularly those of y^e^ D. of Bridgwater, in Lancashire, &c. &c. Illustrated with Eng^d^ plans, 8^vo^ pp. 8. pr. 2/6. printed for T. Lowndes, in Fleet Street, 1766. 3.12.6

The Debates & proceeding of y^e^ British House of Commons, during y^e^ 3^d^, 4^th^, & 5^th^ Sessions of y^e^ 3^rd^ Parliament of his late Majesty Geo. II. held in y^e^ years 1743, 1744, 1745. & 1746 Compiled from Authentic Papers & compared with ye Journals. 2 V. 8^vo^ pr. for J. Almon and S. Bladon, 1766. £34.11.6

Generous Briton 2 V. Henderson

[12] Peerages of Eng. Scotland & Ireland 3 Vols. Lowndes.

[13] History of England in 80 weekly numbers, F. Newberry.

Besides the productions listed above, Edward Kimber was concerned with R. Johnson in continuing Wotton's "Baronetage," and it was published under the title "Kimber & Johnson's Baronetage." In the preface of an edition published after Kimber's death, Johnson says his partner "fell a victim in the meridian of his life, to his indefatigable toils in the republic of letters."

With the exception of the reference to the Peerages and to the History of England, Edward Kimber made no entries in the notebook subsequent to 1766. He died in 1769.

What little is known of the antecedents of Isaac and Edward Kimber is to be found in the notebook.

A NOTE ON ISAAC KIMBER

Rev. Isaac Kimber, born Dec. 1, 1692, in the village of Grove, near Wantage, Berkshire, England, was the son of Isaac Kimber, weaver, and Margaret Tull. She was the sister of a Baptist minister in Wantage. The parents must have been fairly well-off, for they were able to send their son to a private

[12] *Peerage of England*, 1st ed., 1766; 2d ed., 1769; *Peerage of Scotland*, 1767; *Peerage of Ireland*, 1768; *The extinct peerage of England*, 1769

[13] Issued also in 10 volumes, 8vo; Volume I in 1766 and Volumes II–VIII in 1767; Volumes IX and X were published after Edward Kimber's decease in 1769.

grammar school in that town, conducted by the Rev. Mr. Sloper. A fellow-pupil was the prelate Dr. Samuel Butler, Bishop of Durham and the author of *Analogy of religion*. Besides receiving the rudiments of an education here, he was taught Greek and Latin. His next teacher was the Rev. Mr. Jones, also of the Baptist persuasion in Wantage. Mr. Jones had a well-chosen library to which Isaac had free recourse. This gentleman must have exerted a great influence upon young Isaac, for we next hear of him in London, attending Gresham College, under Professor Ward and the Rev. John Eames, F.R.S.

Although he had qualified himself for the ministry, Isaac was not popular as a preacher. He did not possess the desirable animation so attractive in a good speaker, and not trusting his memory he read his sermons. He was further handicapped by being very short-sighted. His first pastorate was at the Paul's Alley Baptist Church, Barbican, London. He was next invited to the Baptist church in Nantwich in Cheshire. Lack of financial support forced him to relinquish that position. Returning to London, he officiated as assistant to his friend, Dr. John Kinch, in Old Artillery Lane, and occasionally at Pinner's Hall. At this time he was also engaged in correcting for the press and in other literary pursuits, as referred to in the list of his writings made by his son Edward.

His first magazine venture was the *Monthly chronicle*, which, begun in January, 1728, lasted until March, 1732. In that year the *London magazine* was started; and despite the competition with the popular *Gentleman's magazine*, which had the support of the most powerful booksellers in London, it thrived for many years.

Isaac Kimber superintended a third edition of Ainsworth's *Latin dictionary*.[14]

Of the Rev. Isaac Kimber's grandfather the notebook says he was Richard Kimber of Grove, Wantage, that he had been an

[14] *Chalmers' biographical dictionary*, XIX, 349.

officer of horse, in 1643/44, under Oliver Cromwell, and that he possessed an estate of £60 per annum. He was "a primitive old gentleman [he was 94 years of age at death] and quite a picture of y^e^ manners of those days. On his old oak cupboard was this distich,

> Fast and pray, and pity y^e^ poor.
> Repent and mend, and sin no more."

From the large number of contributions by the Kimbers to the *London magazine* it becomes apparent that there was frequently a dearth of material, the competing *Gentleman's magazine* having a corner on this market, and, to make a creditable showing, home talent was resorted to. The many aliases seem to indicate that the compilers feared the public could not be expected complacently to accept "too much Kimber."

Q. E. D.

These notes,[15] therefore, not only confirm Mr. Mackall's findings in respect to the authorship of the Oglethorpe *Journal* but also prove that Isaac and Edward Kimber were, in fact, editors of the *London magazine*—Isaac from 1732 to 1755, and Edward from 1755 to 1769.

[15] But for the kindly suggestions and assistance given by Mr. Lawrence C. Wroth of John Carter Brown Library this article might never have been written.

SPECIAL COLLECTIONS FOR THE STUDY OF HISTORY AND LITERATURE IN THE SOUTHEAST

By Louis R. Wilson and R. B. Downs

THE purposes of this paper are three: first, to indicate briefly the general character of special collections of a public or semipublic nature for the study of history and literature in the southeastern states as a whole as differentiated from similar collections in other sections of the country; second, to describe in greater detail some of the more notable collections by states; and, third, to list in a convenient grouping the bibliographies and other printed sources of information concerning these collections.

I

If the student of American history is asked to mention the most notable collections of materials in his field in the United States, he immediately thinks of such nationally known collections as those of the John Carter Brown Library at Brown University, the Clements Library at the University of Michigan, the Burton Library at Detroit, the Bancroft Library at the University of California, the Wisconsin State Historical Society Library, the Library of Congress, and the New York Public Library. He is apt to overlook or disregard the often unusual material in regional or local collections, and particularly so in such collections embracing Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Tennessee, and Kentucky—states which, for the purposes of this paper, are called "southeastern." This is easily understandable partly because of their unavailability, and, more particularly, because of the lack

of bibliographies or published catalogues of their holdings. In the case of the collections located in the Southeast, there are further limiting causes. The collections are widely scattered; they are usually limited to a given state or specific subject; and no library in the Southeast, with which they are connected, contains more than 300,000 volumes or possesses the highly developed bibliographical apparatus which is to be found in a dozen or more of the larger university and research libraries of the East and West.

It is also noteworthy that the collecting of southern materials has been carried on in part by agencies outside the South. Consequently, some of the most important historical material relating to the Southeast is found, not in the southeastern area, but in the Wisconsin State Historical Society, in the University of Chicago, the Boston Athenaeum, the New York Public Library, and the Library of Congress. From 1854 to 1886, for example, when Lyman C. Draper was busily engaged in gathering primary source material relating to Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, and other parts of the South, the historical societies of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and Tennessee, the first collectors of southern material, were understaffed, the collecting instinct in the Southeast was not strongly developed, and financial resources were extremely meager. The college, university, and public libraries of these states were even less important during this period as collecting agencies, the work of collecting being left largely to the societies and to private collectors, who salvaged much that would otherwise have been lost, and which has since come into the possession of historical societies, university and state libraries, and other public institutions.

Nevertheless, the resources of southeastern collections are considerable and are constantly becoming more important. Since the beginning of the present century, the historical societies, the pioneers in the field in the preceding century, have

been strengthened and have been supplemented by two other sets of agencies—first, the state departments of archives, and, later, colleges, universities, and state libraries. These, led by the State Library of Virginia, the North Carolina Historical Commission, the University of North Carolina, Duke University, and more recently the University of Virginia, have entered the collecting field with enthusiasm and zeal, and at the present time, through archivists and research professors, are busily engaged in collecting state and regional material upon a national basis.

This current interest in the Southeast in historical study and research is evidenced by the number of periodicals published in the field. Among the outstanding ones are the *Georgia historical quarterly*, the *Hispanic American historical review*, the *North Carolina historical review*, the *Tennessee historical magazine*, the *Virginia magazine of history and biography*, the *South Carolina historical and genealogical magazine*, the *Florida state historical society quarterly*, *William and Mary College quarterly historical magazine*, the *Sprunt historical publications*, the *Huguenot Society of South Carolina transactions*, *Tyler's quarterly historical and genealogical magazine*, *Filson Club publications*, the *Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society*, the *Mississippi Historical Society publications*, and the *Alabama Historical Association publications*.

Much notable work has also been done by several southeastern states in the publication of important source material dealing with their history. As early as 1810 Virginia published its statutes at large from 1619. North Carolina has issued its colonial and state records up to 1790 in twenty-nine folio volumes. Georgia has published its colonial, Revolutionary, and Confederate records in thirty-two volumes. Other states have been active in recent years in the publication of their primary source records. Among the more notable are those issued by the Alabama Historical Society, the Florida State Historical Society,

the Mississippi Department of Archives and History, and the Virginia State Library.

In addition to the collections found in the original state historical societies, state archives, and state libraries, and the larger universities, many smaller collections are to be found in the Southeast which concern themselves with local materials. These furnish opportunities for specialized research which are not available in the more extensive collections. They include local newspapers, church and military records, diaries, reminiscences, county and other local histories, which have not found their way into the larger libraries.

If the question is asked: "What are the special characteristics of the collections found in the Southeast, as compared with those of the Southwest or with those of other sections of the United States?" a number of contrasts and similarities suggest themselves. The Southwest as a whole has developed more recently than the Southeast, and it played a comparatively minor part in the Revolution and Civil War. The history of the southwestern states has been far more influenced by contact with the Spanish and French. As contrasted with these states, the history of the Southeast is in many aspects similar to that of New England, at least for the colonial period. A brief résumé of the historical background of the southeastern states will help to explain the nature of many of the collections found in libraries of the region.

From the point of view of colonial history, the materials of the Southeast deal with the earliest settlements in what is now the United States. The first English settlements in the new world were at Roanoke Island and Jamestown, and these preceded attempts at colonization in New England by several years. The Spanish settlements in Florida, of course, antedated any English colony by some fifty years.

During the period of western exploration and expansion, the activities of such southern pioneers and explorers as Daniel

Boone, David Crockett, John Sevier, Meriwether Lewis and William Clark of the Lewis and Clark expedition, and many others left a deep imprint on the historical records of the southeastern states.

During the Revolutionary period the southeastern states were the scene of some of the most important events of the war, beginning with the protests of the Mecklenburg colonists in North Carolina and ending with Cornwallis' surrender in Virginia. These events are reflected in the historical materials found in southeastern libraries.

The tremendous issues of slavery, the Civil War, and Reconstruction overshadowed everything else in the entire nineteenth century in the South. None of the states were more vitally affected than those of the Southeast, notably Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia. It is only natural that in the literature of the South for this period slavery and its aftermath should obscure all other subjects. Some of the most important historical collections in southeastern libraries, therefore, deal with the Confederate states and related topics.

The economic and social background of the southeastern states must also be taken into account in appraising the collections of the section. Broadly speaking, these states are of one cultural pattern. They are homogeneous in many respects, making what has been called "a nation within a nation." Historically they were tied together by slavery, the Civil War, and Reconstruction. For long they have been as one in their political attitudes, in their dependence upon King Cotton, and in their attachment to a rural, as opposed to an urban industrial civilization. Similarity of climate has also made its contribution to this unity. Certain traditions, particularly those concerning romantic cavaliers and great plantations, have exerted a great influence on writers of this section. Any large collection of southern literature is permeated with these and like ideas, and

such traditions have played a significant part in giving the southern states a similarity of outlook.

A further striking characteristic of southern special collections is their distinctly regional character. The majority of them relate to southern history and literature, collections of materials relating to the history or literature of other sections or countries being comparatively few. In this respect the Southeast has reflected a strong sectional feeling. The lack of financial resources has likewise played its part in effecting this limitation.

Inasmuch as the general subject matter of most of the special collections has been indicated above, something may now be said about the types of material collected.

Personal journalism has long been characteristic of the leading southern newspapers. Richmond, Wilmington, Raleigh, Columbia, Charleston, Atlanta, Savannah, Mobile, Louisville, Lexington, Nashville, and many other centers furnished the setting for editorial comment which reflects the economic, social, political, and religious attitudes of the South. Consequently, special emphasis has been placed upon the acquisition of newspaper files, many of which are to be found in the special collections throughout the entire area.

While literary periodicals have never flourished notably in the South, the southeastern states have issued at various periods such magazines as the *Southern literary messenger*, the *Southern literary gazette*, the *Southern review*, the *Southern literary journal*, the *Southern quarterly review*, and many others. Most of these were comparatively short-lived, but they constitute important records of the state of American literature in the nineteenth century, especially the work of southern writers. More or less complete files of these and other less important southern literary periodicals may be found in several southeastern libraries, as well as files of the *Sewanee review*, the *South Atlantic quarterly*, and the *Virginia quarterly review*, which are representative of the section today.

Extensive manuscript collections are found in several southeastern libraries; and these, as indicated in the descriptions of collections which follow, are steadily growing in size and importance. Diaries, plantation records, account books, pamphlets, maps, state and municipal documents, and local imprints are also to be found in varying combinations in many of the collections.

II

Among the collections worthy of special consideration the following may be mentioned under the names of the states and places in which they are located.

ALABAMA

The most important agency in Alabama for the preservation of historical records is the Alabama State Department of Archives and History at Montgomery, organized in 1901. Its library is particularly rich in the southern field. It contains practically everything printed about Alabama, by Alabamians, or in the state of Alabama. The Department's miscellaneous collections include all old and current files of Alabama newspapers, magazines, or other periodical publications, all maps of Alabama, and manuscripts and documents, such as letters, diaries, journals, old account books, manuscript church or school registers, etc. The library has some 50,000 manuscripts and 8,000 volumes of newspaper files.

Another active Alabama institution is the Birmingham Public Library. This library has a department of southern history and literature giving special attention to Alabama and Birmingham material, description and travel in the South before 1860, antebellum South, slavery, Civil War, Reconstruction, and Negroes. The department now contains over 6,000 books, over 400 pamphlets, and a number of maps. About 44 per cent of the total number of volumes in the department classify as history. An endowment of $50,000 for the southern collection has enabled the library to buy fairly extensively in this field.

The Association Public Library of Mobile has a collection of Alabama authors, containing about 340 volumes and 900 pamphlets. This library has the only file of the *Mobile daily register* from 1821 to 1909. The *Register* is the oldest paper in Alabama.

FLORIDA

No very extensive collections have, as yet, been built up in Florida, though a number of Florida institutions and organizations are becoming interested in preserving records relating to the state. Perhaps the best information obtainable on Florida collections is the "Preliminary checklist of Floridiana, 1500–1865, in the libraries of Florida," published in the *Florida library bulletin*, April, 1930.

The best collection in Florida is the private library of P. K. and J. C. Yonge, of Pensacola, which is open freely to students. It contains few Spanish or other foreign-language records, but is rich in material printed in English, especially old Florida newspapers. In some respects the newspaper collection is superior to that for Florida in the Library of Congress.

The Florida State Historical Society has collected in photostat and transcript form manuscript material from Spanish archives, original documents in the British Record Office, and other sources of Florida history. This collection now contains over 100,000 sheets.

The St. Augustine Historical Society has gathered many transcripts of early Spanish documents, maps, and books dealing with Florida. A similar organization is the St. Petersburg Historical Society.

The Jacksonville Public Library has the best public-library collection in Florida. Its Florida material occupies a special room.

The University of Florida Library at Gainesville and the library of the Florida State College for Women at Tallahassee each has the nucleus of a collection of Floridiana.

GEORGIA

The Wymberley Jones de Renne Georgia Library at Wormsloe, Georgia, has been called the finest private collection ever formed for any state in the Union, and it is by far the most important one in Georgia. The collection is made freely available to scholars and specialists. The De Renne Library possesses many valuable Confederate manuscripts and the most important and interesting works on the Civil War. With the exception of this selected Confederate material, the library contains only Georgiana. The material relating to Georgia includes numerous manuscripts, maps, engravings, in addition to valuable books. A catalogue of the library was published in 1931 in three large volumes. This catalogue not only lists much valuable material but is also a fine example of catalogue-making.

The Emory University Library at Atlanta is engaged in building up a collection of southern history and literature. In southern history there are about 1,000 volumes, over one-half relating to slavery and the Civil War. In addition, the collection contains 359 bound volumes of southern newspapers, dating from 1798, and a number of sets of southern periodicals.

In the field of southern literature the Emory Library has over 500 titles by southern writers, many of them little known. The family of Joel Chandler Harris has deposited the Harris manuscripts in a memorial room at Emory University. The collection contains manuscripts of a number of Harris books, short stories, poems and sketches, personal correspondence, publishers' correspondence, etc. In addition to the manuscript material there are copies of all Harris' published volumes, with 21 first-editions, a file of the *Uncle Remus magazine*, photographs, scrapbooks, and other material relating to the author.

The most notable collection at Emory is its Wesleyana, the largest in the world, with over 5,000 pieces. A special room is provided for this valuable material. The collection contains 62 autograph letters signed by John Wesley, a manuscript volume

of *John Wesley's Georgia journal*, over 300 letters from various members of the Wesley family, more than 2,300 volumes and pamphlets, and statues, portraits, busts, plaques, seals, etc. There are files of church hymnals, early Methodist church magazines, and a variety of documents of historic interest.

The Carnegie Library of Atlanta is active in acquiring Georgiana. Its collection in this field now runs to 2,500 volumes and is quite comprehensive in nature. In genealogy the library has some 800 volumes. The emphasis in this subject is placed on southern, and particularly Georgia, families. The library also has practically complete files of Atlanta newspapers, numbering almost 1,000 volumes. Its files of early southern magazines are good.

The Georgia State Library at Atlanta has the most complete collection of Georgia documents in the state. It is also strong in materials by Georgians or dealing with Georgia. This is said to be the second best collection in the state for Georgia material.

The Georgia Historical Society at Savannah was organized in 1839. It is especially equipped for research in state history. The library of the Society contains a valuable collection of maps, portraits, manuscripts, relics, etc., pertaining to the history of Georgia. The Society has published nine volumes of "Collections," in which nearly all its historical manuscripts are included.

The Wesleyan College Library at Macon contains a collection of Georgiana numbering approximately 1,150 volumes and 125 pamphlets. Some of the items are quite rare, and the collection as a whole offers excellent facilities for the study of Georgia history and literature.

The Georgia Department of Archives and History at Atlanta is entirely manuscript in character. The collection numbers some 30,000 books and pamphlets of state materials and between 800,000 and 900,000 loose original papers belonging to state, county, or private records.

The University of Georgia Library at Athens is said to have the third strongest collection of Georgia material in the state.

KENTUCKY

The Kentucky Historical Society at Frankfort, founded in 1896, has accumulated much material concerning the states most closely connected with the early settlement of Kentucky. The records relating to Virginia are especially full. The archives of Kentucky from the beginning of statehood up to 1915 are on file with the Society. It also possesses a number of early Kentucky maps.

The Filson Club at Louisville, organized in 1884, has a collection of 7,000 volumes. The Club specializes in Kentucky history and genealogy, and in Americana. It contains a mass of important manuscript material. A photostat collection of all the material relating to Kentucky in the Draper Collection of the Wisconsin State Historical Society is being made by the Filson Club. The history of the Ohio Valley and the old Northwest Territory is one of the Club's special interests. An unusual collection in the Filson Club is made up of books and pamphlets dealing with the history and evolution of the United States flag. It covers some nine feet of shelving and is perhaps the most extensive one on the subject ever brought together. Thirty-five volumes of original matter on Kentucky history, written by members, have been issued as "Filson Club publications." They include papers read before the Club, and works based on the Club's collection.

The Louisville Free Public Library contains a Kentucky collection of about 4,000 volumes and 2,000 pamphlets. These are divided about equally between books by Kentucky authors and works on Kentucky history. There is also in this library a Confederate collection of over 500 volumes. The library has 1,800 bound volumes of newspapers, practically all of them Lousville newspapers dating from 1831.

The Lexington Public Library has a file of the *Kentucky ga-*

zette from 1787 to 1900. This was the first paper published west of the Alleghanies.

It should be noted that the two best collections on Kentucky are located in other states. The University of Chicago has the Durrett Collection of Kentucky history consisting of 15,000 volumes and 15,000 pamphlets. It is also strong in newspapers and manuscripts. The State Historical Society of Wisconsin has the Draper Collection of manuscripts relating to Kentucky.

MISSISSIPPI

The University of Mississippi has the Deavours Memorial Collection of 430-odd volumes and 95 pamphlets written by Mississippians or about Mississippi. There is also in the library a Mississippi collection of over 600 volumes, with some duplication of the Deavours material. Included in this are some 59 volumes of Mississippi newspapers, covering the period 1823–80.

The work of the Mississippi Department of Archives and History is similar to that of the Alabama Department of Archives. It has undertaken to assemble all extant provincial, territorial, and state archives of Mississippi. These have been made fully accessible to historical students. All Mississippi documents and records are concentrated in this Department, whose function it is to see that they are properly preserved.

NORTH CAROLINA

The most important special collection in the University of North Carolina Library relates to North Carolina. It contains about 13,000 bound volumes and 34,000 pamphlets, as well as several hundred maps and a large number of manuscripts and clippings. The collection has as its aim the preservation of the following classes of material: books and pamphlets relating to North Carolina, its people or any part of its history; North Carolina public and legislative documents, bulletins, official reports, etc., also United States documents and publications con-

cerning North Carolina; North Carolina educational and religious publications, such as journals of religious conferences and associations, society reports, catalogues, bulletins and announcements of educational institutions; files of North Carolina newspapers, magazines, and other periodical publications; maps of North Carolina, or of its counties, towns, coast line, as well as old maps of the southern states; fiction with a North Carolina setting; manuscripts, letters, and correspondence, letter books, diaries, journals, scrapbooks, weather notes, account books, manuscript church and school registers, etc.

The North Carolina material is supplemented by another special collection, the Rural Social Economics Collection, which is in many ways unique. It includes more than 15,000 titles of pamphlets, books, official reports, periodicals, bulletins, and classified newspaper clippings in the field of rural social economics. The collection centers around North Carolina but is concerned also with the field at large, domestic and foreign. The material touches or covers all the main facts and problems of North Carolina's economic and social life.

The North Carolina and Rural Social Economics collections have furnished the background for some of the most important publications of University of North Carolina faculty members and the University of North Carolina Press. Such books, for example, as Hobbs, *North Carolina: economic and social;* Odum, *American epoch;* Vance, *Human factors in cotton culture;* and Wager, *County government in North Carolina*, were based on these materials.

For the Civil War period, the University of North Carolina Library has the Kenan Collection. This was established in 1907 and has brought together a very valuable body of printed material relating to the rise, duration, and fall of the Confederacy. Both the northern and southern points of view are represented. The library owns, in addition, much manuscript material bearing on the same subject.

A newer project than the state collection at the University of North Carolina is a Southern Collection fully as comprehensive in scope for all the southern states. The North Carolina, Rural Social Economics, and Civil War materials form an excellent nucleus for this broader collection. The plan is to assemble in this one place a great southern collection of material which might otherwise be lost or remain too widely scattered for effective use. Such a collection will greatly simplify the work of the historian and writer. The purpose and scope of the plan are best indicated by saying that it is planned to gather anything and everything which may, in any way, throw light upon the past and present of the southern states. Though the collection is little more than under way, about 1,000,000 manuscripts have already been gathered. These include diaries, plantation records, letters, and a variety of other material. In addition to manuscripts, books, pamphlets, and newspapers are being acquired in large numbers. The newspapers in these three collections number 4,000 bound volumes from 1800 to date.

Another important collection recently developed in the University of North Carolina Library is the Hanes Foundation for the Study of the Origin and Development of the Book. The collection at present comprises some 360 incunabula, about 500 books of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, and a number of Babylonian and Sumerian tablets, Egyptian and Greek papyri, and manuscripts of all kinds and countries. Examples of fine printing from famous private presses may be found in this collection. The Hanes material is supplemented by the Hunter Collection containing one hundred volumes of incunabula, and 200 European manuscripts dating from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century.

The Archibald Henderson Collection of American Drama contains approximately 3,000 American plays, many of them being representative of the early period of the American stage.

The Duke University Library at Durham is expanding so

rapidly that anything written concerning it now will soon be out of date, but the main lines of development can be indicated. The newspaper collection of the Duke Library totals about 6,000 volumes. The scope is quite broad, representing 43 states and 33 foreign countries. Among the most important groups of these newspapers are those of the eighteenth century, primarily from New England, and those from 1840 to 1875, covering the antebellum, Civil War, and Reconstruction periods. A checklist of newspapers is being published serially by the library. The first section, covering the alphabet from Alabama to Georgia, recently appeared.

The manuscript department of the Duke Library contains some 200,000 manuscripts. The materials are of special value for the study of southern history and literature. Most of the collection pertains to the South Atlantic states, but the Gulf states are also represented.

One of the most valuable libraries assembled in Peru was bought by Duke University in 1929, making the institution one of the most important depositories of Latin-American history on this continent. The library was collected by Francesco Perez de Velasco, of Lima. It includes 3,000 volumes, old newspapers, government documents, original manuscripts, and pamphlets which historians say cannot be duplicated. There is a series of original documents with the autographs of the viceroys of Spain, published from 1580 up to the last century. "The Guides of Peru" in 108 volumes is one of the most treasured sets in the collection, and is believed to be the only complete set extant.

In the field of literature, Duke has the Lanson Collection in French literature, consisting of 9,000 volumes and 2,000 monographs. This was Professor Lanson's valuable private library and includes works from the fifteenth century to the present. The Duke Library has recently obtained a Goethe collection of some 800 volumes, and about 3,000 volumes of Scandinavian

literature. There is a good Shakespeare collection of about 1,000 volumes. The library owned by the poet, Paul Hamilton Hayne, has been acquired by Duke. It contains 1,800 volumes, including many valuable files of magazines and pamphlets. The most interesting item is a complete file of the *Palmetto flag*, a secession newspaper of 1851. There is a large number of autographed presentation copies of books of poems by Longfellow, Whittier, Lowell, Aldrich, Stedman, Burroughs, and Lanier. There are also many rare first-editions of Tennyson, Swinburne, Morris, Rosetti, Emerson, and Hawthorne.

The North Carolina Historical Commission at Raleigh has the custody of all state and county archives for the state. Photostatic copies of material on North Carolina in foreign archives are being collected by the Commission. Photostatic copies of all North Carolina newspapers published before 1800 which are in collections in the United States are being secured. The Commission has numerous collections of the private papers of public men. There are now in the manuscript collections of the Commission about 1,000,000 separate documents besides the bound volumes of county records.

The North Carolina State Library at Raleigh has about 5,000 volumes of North Carolina newspapers. This library also has some valuable genealogical material, and its North Carolina collection of books is fairly extensive. Bibliographies of the library's holdings in these three classes have been published in its biennial reports.

The Wake Forest College Library at Wake Forest has a North Carolina collection, including books, pamphlets, periodicals, and newspapers, with a total number of some 3,000 items. There is also a Baptist collection in this library consisting of about 2,400 books, pamphlets, newspapers, and periodicals. Both the North Carolina and the Baptist collections include a number of manuscripts.

Guilford College has the manuscript minutes of the Quakers'

meetings in North Carolina containing records of births and deaths. There are 230 of these records, dating from 1680 to the present time. They cover several meetings in South Carolina, Georgia, and Tennessee, as well. The Quaker records are of genealogical and historical value. Guilford College also has a collection of Quaker books and magazines consisting of about 1,000 volumes and 300 bound magazines. There are practically complete files of the two leading Friends' magazines in this country and a number of volumes of three English magazines. In addition to books and periodicals, there are about 125 pamphlets in the collection.

The Wachovia Historical Society at Winston-Salem has some highly important contemporary colonial records of the Moravian church. These consist of a collection of Moravian diaries, travel diaries, "memorabilia," and other books and manuscripts, dating from 1752, when the Moravians selected the present site of Winston-Salem for settlement.

The Historical Foundation of the Presbyterian and Reformed Churches at Montreat has collected extensive source materials of the churches indicated in the name, specializing in those relating to the southern Presbyterian church. An attempt is being made to assemble all official records. Many of the manuscript records go back into the eighteenth century and are continuous to date. These official records now run to more than 700 volumes. There are extensive files of printed minutes of the Dutch Reformed and German Reformed churches from prior to 1800. Of non-official manuscript records, there are diaries, letters, addresses, sermons, deeds, documents, etc., to the number of about 5,000. The periodical files include numerous church papers and theological reviews, about 4,000 volumes in all. The Foundation now has some 10,000 volumes and over 25,000 pamphlets in this special field.

The Sondley Collection in the Asheville Public Library is mainly historical in nature. Special attention has been paid to

the colonization of America, particularly in the South. There is some excellent material on Indians, with a number of rare items. A large section of the collection deals with the Revolution, slavery, and the Civil War. There is also a section on early travel in America, accompanied by many old atlases and early maps. Incunabula, Elzevier editions, and famous editions of English Bibles are also represented.

SOUTH CAROLINA

The oldest public library in the South is the Charleston Library Society, organized in 1748. This library contains many rare books. Its special collections include the Courtenay Collection of more than 400 volumes on the history of South Carolina and the city of Charleston. There is also the William Godbar Hinson Collection of about 1,750 volumes and several hundred pamphlets relating chiefly to the South, with emphasis on the Confederacy, South Carolina, and Charleston. In the field of literature, the Society has the William Porcher Miles Memorial Collection of Elizabethan literature, Shakespeare, and related subjects—some 650 volumes. As the library owns other valuable books on this period, it is well equipped for Shakespearean research. The Charleston Library Society has several files of early South Carolina newspapers.

The only other public library south of Philadelphia existing prior to the Revolution is the Winyaw Indigo Society in Georgetown, South Carolina. This Society was founded about 1740. A library was accumulated, but no records remain to indicate how large it became. It was destroyed by military occupation during the Civil War. Some valuable material has been gathered by the Society since that date.

The University of South Carolina has an excellent collection of South Caroliniana, probably the most important in the state. This includes about 5,000 books, 1,300 manuscripts, 1,200 pamphlets, 600 bound volumes of newspapers, and a great many unbound ones. The manuscript material assembled by the library

contains important papers of public men, farm records, bank and commercial books, etc. The University of South Carolina Library also has a fairly extensive collection of old and rare books, incunabula, early Americana, and so forth.

The South Carolina Historical Society at Charleston, organized in 1854, has several thousand books and approximately 3,000 manuscripts relating almost entirely to South Carolina, and particularly Charleston and vicinity.

The College of Charleston Library has a South Carolina collection of some 625 volumes, over 400 pamphlets, and 223 bound volumes of South Carolina newspapers for the period 1787–1859.

Presbyterian College, Clinton, South Carolina, has the Smyth Collection of South Caroliniana, consisting of about 400 volumes. In addition, the library has approximately 500 other volumes of Caroliniana. A good number of these books pertain to the colonial history of the state, and to the Revolution in South Carolina. Other material covers local history, histories of institutions, biographies, and novels with a South Carolina background.

The South Carolina State Library at Columbia has a South Carolina history collection of about 1,000 volumes.

TENNESSEE

The Tennessee Division of Library and Archives (formerly the Tennessee State Library) at Nashville has important special collections of Tennesseana and southern material, including particularly the most complete collection in the state of printed acts, journals, department reports, and miscellaneous pamphlets and periodicals. There are some 2,500 volumes in the Tennessee collection and, in addition, almost 1,500 bound volumes of Tennessee newspapers. The Southern collection is even more extensive, including about 3,500 items. This library is gathering some valuable manuscript material. It includes collections of all Tennessee governors' papers and correspondence, beginning with

John Sevier in 1796, private letters, original manuscript books, historical albums, rosters, account books, etc. These manuscripts contain much relating to the early years of statehood.

The Calvin M. McClung Collection, now a part of the Lawson McGhee Library in Knoxville, is an outstanding collection. It relates in the main to history and genealogy, particularly of Tennessee and other southern states. The collection consists of old and rare books, pamphlets, autograph letters, maps, and newspapers. There are about 1,000 volumes of newspapers, bound and unbound. These extend from the later part of the eighteenth century down to modern times. Books and pamphlets on the American Indians are numerous. Southern church history is well represented. The McClung Collection is particularly valuable for the early period of Tennessee history, and it is rich in North Carolina and Virginia history.

The Tennessee Historical Society at Nashville, organized in 1849, has collected much historical material. Its manuscripts include a considerable number of letters of William Blount, John Coffee, Andrew Jackson, John Sevier, James Winchester, and others. It has a valuable file of newspapers, including the first issues, 1791–95, of Tennessee's first newspaper, the *Knoxville gazette*.

The Carnegie Library of Nashville collects significant books and pamphlets relating to Tennessee history. The library has a good number of items on travel and description, the Civil War period, and the general history of the state. It has an important collection of newspapers, over 900 bound volumes, fully covering every year from 1840 to date and most of the years from 1818 to 1840. The newspapers are mainly local. This is one of the most nearly complete files in the South.

The Chattanooga Public Library has a genealogy collection of 1,900 volumes, dealing particularly with New England and southern families. A collection of Tennessee and southern history has been started. Among the volumes assembled are some

rare items on the early history of Tennessee. Files of local newspapers are in the library, and a collection of the writings of Chattanooga authors is being made.

The Cossitt Library of Memphis contains some West Tennessee and Mississippi Valley items not in other libraries. The Cossitt Library has files of Memphis newspapers extending back to the second quarter of the nineteenth century.

The University of Tennessee Library at Knoxville has a small collection of newspapers and manuscripts. The University also has the Bruce Collection of medieval romance and Elizabethan literature.

The George Peabody College for Teachers in Nashville has some Nashville newspapers and the valuable correspondence of James Robertson.

VIRGINIA

The Virginia State Library at Richmond has an immensely valuable manuscript collection of more than 1,500,000 pieces. For the most part these are Virginia archives going back into colonial times, but included also are many private papers. In addition, the library has photostat copies or original manuscripts of a vast number of church and local records. The manuscript collections of the Virginia State Library are probably next to those of the Library of Congress in size and value. The library has a very comprehensive collection of material relating to the history of Virginia. In this are about 10,000 books and pamphlets on Virginia, including genealogy and biography. There are about 450 volumes of voyages and travels. An effort has been made to get copies of all books of voyages and travels referring to Virginia. The Civil War material is very extensive, especially that dealing with Virginia and the Confederate states. The library has the most nearly complete collection of Richmond newspapers in existence, to the number of 738 volumes. These date from 1804. This library has led all others in the South in the number of its bibliographical publications. Well-

prepared finding-lists have been issued for its important collections. The most noteworthy of these is the bibliography of Virginia published from 1915 to 1919 in three volumes. In addition to bibliographies, the valuable manuscript material of the library is printed as rapidly as means permit.

The University of Virginia Library at Charlottesville has a Virginia collection containing material about Virginia, by Virginians, or printed in Virginia. Both printed and manuscript material is included. The books and pamphlets connected with the history of the University of Virginia, with Thomas Jefferson, and with Edgar Allan Poe probably form the most significant part of the printed records. The manuscript and photostat collection comprises about 8,800 items. The manuscripts include writings by Jefferson, Cabell, Gilmer, Richard Henry Lee, Arthur Lee, Poe, John R. Thompson, Stanard, and miscellaneous literary and political material. The University is also building up a special collection on the Negro, with emphasis on the recent social, economic, and literary phases of Southern Negro life.

The William and Mary College Library at Williamsburg has a collection of about 50,000 manuscripts, relating almost entirely to Virginia history. A few of these deal with the colonial period. This library also has one of the best collections in Virginia of books relating to Virginia. The William and Mary Library contains a number of smaller collections, among them: papers of Virginia business firms; letters relating to the College of William and Mary; pamphlets on the temperance agitation in Virginia from 1830 to 1860, and to agriculture in Virginia during the same period; textbooks used by William and Mary students, especially before 1860; and numerous small collections of letters. The library has a notable collection of portraits, containing a large number of original Virginia colonial examples.

The Confederate Memorial Literary Society at Richmond maintains a library, popularly known as the Confederate Muse-

um, composed of materials, both printed and in manuscript form, relating to the history of the South before and during the Civil War. In this collection are files of bound newspapers and periodicals, some 20,000 manuscripts, about 2,400 books and pamphlets, and a number of scrapbooks, and roll-of-honor records. The Museum has a large number of the personal papers of Jefferson Davis.

The Virginia Historical Society at Richmond, the first of the societies to be organized in the South, celebrated its centennial anniversary in 1931. It possesses a fine working collection of Virginia history and genealogy; it includes several thousand books and pamphlets; its manuscripts and newspaper files are quite extensive; the rare collection of original colonial letters and family papers and its holdings of publications concerning the Confederate states are particularly notable.

A valuable collection of material on Virginia Baptist history, early letters, manuscript records, minutes, etc., belonging to the Virginia Baptist Historical Society is deposited in the Library of the University of Richmond.

The Norfolk Public Library contains a good file of Norfolk newspapers from 1802, comprising over 360 volumes.

The Randolph-Macon College at Ashland has a valuable collection of early American periodicals.

The most important Negro library in the South is at Hampton Institute in Virginia. This includes the Malone Collection on the Negro, amounting to 3,000 volumes, and the Brooks Collection of 10,000 volumes, which has many books by and about Negroes. The Institute for fifty years admitted Indians as students, and the library has an excellent Indian collection of 3,000 volumes.

In conclusion, it has often been said, and with truth, that the South has shown a striking indifference to the preservation of its records. Much that is irreplaceable has been lost through carelessness and ignorance. But the facts set forth above show that

since the Virginia Historical Society was founded in 1831, constant effort has been made to preserve the records of the South, and within recent years this effort has been greatly increased. While the collections are widely scattered and in many cases are very fragmentary, a beginning has been made and some highly creditable work has been done. Equally important is the fact that the work of adequate housing and publication has been gotten under way. The South, in these respects, has become library-minded in a national sense; and it is but logical to expect southern collections and research facilities in the future to assume an importance commensurate with the part which it has played in the founding and building of the nation.

III

PRINTED SOURCES OF INFORMATION

General

Brigham, Clarence S. Bibliography of American newspapers, 1690–1820. (In: American Antiquarian Society, *Proceedings:* Alabama, Oct., 1913, XXIII, 249–52; Florida, Oct., 1913, *ibid.*, p. 369; Georgia, Oct., 1913, *ibid.*, pp. 370–94; Kentucky, Oct., 1914, XXIV, 365–403; Mississippi, Apr., 1916, XXVI, 83–92; North Carolina, Oct., 1918, XXVIII, 291–322; South Carolina, Oct., 1924, XXXIV, 259–300; Tennessee, Apr., 1925, XXXV, 81–97; Virginia, Apr., 1927, XXXVII, 65–155.)

Locates files in southern libraries and in other portions of the country.

Conference of Historical Societies. *Handbook of American historical societies.* Madison, Wisconsin: Cantwell Printing Co., 1926. Pp. 81.

Furnishes data in connection with each society having a library, covering the number of volumes, and in many cases manuscripts and newspapers contained in each, with occasionally fuller information on special collections. Includes a number of southern societies.

Johnson, James G. *Southern fiction prior to 1860.* Charlottesville, Virginia: Michie Co., 1909. Pp. 126.

Locates copies in the University of Virginia, the Virginia State Library, the University of Georgia, the University of North Carolina, the University of Alabama, and a number of other southeastern libraries.

JOHNSTON, WILLIAM D., *and* MUDGE, ISADORE G. *Special collections in libraries in the United States.* Washington: Government Printing Office, 1912. Pp. 140. (U.S. Bureau of Education bulletin no. 23, 1912.)

Lists, by subjects, special collections in southern libraries.

MORRISON, HUGH A. Bibliography of the official publications of the Confederate States of America. (In: Bibliographical Society of America, *Proceedings and papers*, III, 92–132. New York: The Society, 1908.)

Locates copies in the Virginia State Library, the Howard Memorial Library, New Orleans, Library of Congress, and the State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

PLUM, DOROTHY A. *Bibliography of American college library administration, 1899–1926.* Albany: University of the State of New York, 1926. Pp. 83. (New York State Library. Bibliography bulletin 77.)

"Special collections," pp. 30–48. Contains references on several southeastern libraries. Annual supplement in the A.L.A. *College and reference yearbook.*

RICHARDSON, ERNEST C. *Index directory to special collections in North American libraries.* Yardley, Pennsylvania: F. S. Cook, 1927. Pp. 168.

Lists, by states and subjects, special collections in southern libraries.

ROBERTSON, DAVID A. *American universities and colleges.* New York: Scribner, 1928. Pp. 884.

Chapter vi, pp. 161–296, gives important information on special collections.

SPECIAL *libraries directory.* New York: Special Libraries Association, 1925. Pp. 254.

History section, pp. 50–59, lists a few southern historical libraries with brief descriptions.

SUBJECT INDEX to special collections in American libraries. (In: *American library directory supplement*, 1928, pp. 9–100. New York: Bowker, 1928.)

A subject index to special collections in the libraries of each state. No descriptive information.

U.S. LIBRARY OF CONGRESS. *Manuscripts in public and private collections in the United States.* Washington: Government Printing Office, 1924. Pp. 98.

Locates manuscript collections in nineteen southeastern libraries.

WINCHELL, CONSTANCE M. *Locating books for interlibrary loan.* New York: Wilson, 1930. Pp. 170.

Indicates location of a number of special collections in southern libraries.

Alabama

ALABAMA. DEPARTMENT OF ARCHIVES AND HISTORY. *Checklist of newspaper and periodical files in the Department of Archives and History*. Montgomery, Alabama: Brown Printing Co., 1904. Pp. 65. (Its: Bulletin no. 3.)

CHAPMAN, LILA MAY. *The southern collection of books in the Birmingham Public Library*. (In: Southeastern Library Association, *Papers*, 1930, pp. 44–52.)

Description of the types of material contained in the collection, with some mention of rare titles.

GARRETT, MITCHELL B. "The preservation of Alabama history," *North Carolina historical review*, V (Jan., 1928), 3–19.

A discussion of the work of the Alabama Department of Archives and History in the collection of Alabama historical material.

OWEN, THOMAS M. Alabama archives. (In: American Historical Association, *Annual report* for 1904, pp. 487–553. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1905.)

Lists material in the Alabama Department of Archives and History, and in other state and local offices.

OWEN, THOMAS M. Bibliography of Alabama. (In: American Historical Association, *Annual report* for 1897, pp. 777–1248. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1898.)

Indicates the books on Alabama in seven libraries, only one of which, the University of Alabama, is in Alabama. Four are in Washington and two in Baltimore.

OWEN, THOMAS M. State department of archives and history. (In: American Historical Association, *Annual report* for 1904, pp. 237–57. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1905.)

A detailed discussion of the Alabama Department of Archives and History and the types of material collected.

Florida

CONNOR, JEANETTE T. *Colonial records of Spanish Florida; letters and reports of governors and secular persons*. De Land: Florida State Historical Society, 1925. 2 vols.

Locates copies in the Florida State Historical Society, and in seven collections outside of the state.

JACKSONVILLE, FLORIDA. PUBLIC LIBRARY. *Genealogical, local and state history in the Jacksonville Public Library*. Jacksonville: Arnold Printing Co., 1929. Pp. 15.

"Preliminary checklist of Floridiana, 1500–1865, in the libraries of Florida," *Florida library bulletin*, II, no. 2 (Apr. 1930), 1–16.

Locates books, manuscripts, newspapers, periodicals, photostats, photographs, pictures, and maps in twenty-one libraries.

ROBERTSON, JAMES A. "Archival distribution of Florida manuscripts," *Florida State Historical Society quarterly*, XV (July, 1931), 35–50.

Description of the sources of early Florida history in the archives of Spain, France, England, Washington, and elsewhere.

ROBERTSON, JAMES A. "Preservation of Florida history," *North Carolina historical review*, IV (Oct., 1927), 351–65.

A review of the work of various agencies in Florida collecting Floridiana, especially that of the Florida Historical Society.

THOMAS, DAVID Y. Report on the public archives of Florida. (In: American Historical Association, *Annual report* for 1906, II, 149–58. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1908.)

Territorial and state archives found in the governor's office, the office of the secretary of state, and the office of the surveyor-general.

Georgia

BROOKS, ROBERT P. *Preliminary bibliography of Georgia history*. Athens, Georgia: McGregor Co., 1910. Pp. 46. (University of Georgia. Bulletin, Vol. X, no. 10-A, serial no. 127.)

A list of 300 items. Marks the titles of books in the University of Georgia Library.

EMORY *alumnus*, Vol. V, no. 2 (Mar., 1929).

Joel Chandler Harris number. Contains several articles descriptive of the Harris Collection in the Emory University Library.

FLANDERS, RALPH B. "Newspapers and periodicals in the Washington Memorial Library, Macon, Georgia," *North Carolina historical review*, VII (Apr., 1930), 220–23.

Description of a valuable collection of early Georgia newspapers and literary periodicals in the public library at Macon.

FLISCH, JULIA A. Report on the local records of Georgia. (In: American Historical Association, *Annual report* for 1906, II, 159–64. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1908.)

Covers the public records of Richmond County, including newspapers, giving locations.

GEORGIA. STATE LIBRARY. *Finding list of books and pamphlets relating to Georgia and Georgians.* Atlanta, 1928. Pp. 129.

Locates copies in the Carnegie Library of Atlanta, the De Renne Library at Wormsloe, the Georgia State Library at Atlanta, the University of Georgia Library at Athens, and the Library of Congress. An author-list.

JACK, THEODORE H. "Preservation of Georgia history," *North Carolina historical review*, IV (July, 1927), 239–51.

Discusses work of organizations engaged in the preservation of Georgia history, particularly the Department of Archives and History.

MACKALL, LEONARD L. "Wymberly Jones De Renne Georgia Library," *Georgia historical quarterly*, II (June, 1918), 63–86.

A historical account of this library, the private collections from which it was formed, and some of the rare items it contains.

MILLEDGE, JOHN. *The De Renne gift.* Atlanta, Georgia, 1894. Pp. 20.

Description of a collection presented to the Georgia State Library. The collection contains a number of books, pamphlets, and newspapers relating to Georgia and other portions of the South.

PHILLIPS, ULRICH B. Georgia local archives. (In: American Historical Association, *Annual report* for 1904, pp. 555–96. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1905.)

Local records of Oglethorpe, Habersham, and Clarke counties and the town of Athens, with locations.

PHILLIPS, ULRICH B. Public archives of Georgia. (In: American Historical Association, *Annual report* for 1903, I, 439–74. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904.)

A list of state and local archives now preserved in the state capitol of Georgia.

WYMBERLEY JONES DE RENNE GEORGIA LIBRARY. Catalogue. Wormsloe, privately printed, 1931. 3 vols.

The most important collection of books and maps relating to Georgia as a colony and as a state, and also one of the chief collections on certain aspects of the Confederate States of America.

Kentucky

KENTUCKY STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. *Catalogue of books, magazines, manuscripts, etc. in . . . . Kentucky State Historical Society.* Louisville: Globe Printing Co., 1909. Pp. 48.

KENTUCKY. STATE LIBRARY. *Catalogue.* Frankfort, 1928. Pp. 474.

MYERS, IRENE T. Report on the archives of the state of Kentucky. (In: American Historical Association, *Annual report* for 1910, pp. 331–64. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1912.)

Mississippi

MISSISSIPPI. DEPARTMENT OF ARCHIVES AND HISTORY. Official guide to the historical materials in the Mississippi Department of Archives and History. (In its: *Eleventh-twelfth annual report*, 1911–1913, App. pp. 43–147. Nashville, Tennessee, 1914.)

MISSISSIPPI. DEPARTMENT OF ARCHIVES AND HISTORY. *Sixth annual report*, 1906–7. Nashville, Tennessee: Brandon Publishing Co., 1908. Pp. 59.

Contains list of about 435 volumes of newspapers, covering the period 1805–1905. A majority are Mississippi or southern newspapers. There is also a list of Mississippi pamphlets collected by the Department.

OWEN, THOMAS M. Bibliography of Mississippi. (In: American Historical Association, *Annual report* for 1899, pp. 633–828. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1900.)

Locates copies in six Washington libraries, two in Baltimore, and a collection in the possession of the compiler.

WEATHERSBY, WILLIAM H. "Preservation of Mississippi history," *North Carolina historical review*, V (Apr., 1928), 141–50.

Describes the activities of the Mississippi Historical Society in collecting Mississippi historical records.

WHITE, JAMES M., *and* RILEY, FRANKLIN L. Libraries and societies. (In: *Mississippi historical society publications*, V, 169–227. Oxford, Mississippi: printed for the Society, 1902.)

Lists of books, pamphlets, newspapers, and other materials relating to Mississippi history, found in various Mississippi libraries. The holdings of the Mississippi Historical Society Library and the University of Mississippi libraries are given in detail.

North Carolina

BASSETT, JOHN SPENCER, *and others*. North Carolina county archives. (In: American Historical Association, *Annual report* for 1904. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1905.)

Record by counties.

BASSETT, JOHN SPENCER. Report on the public archives of North Carolina. (In: American Historical Association, *Annual report* for 1900 and 1901: 1900, II, 251–66; 1901, II, 345–52. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1901–2.)

CRITTENDEN, CHARLES C. *North Carolina newspapers before 1790* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1928. Pp. 83. ("James Sprunt historical studies," Vol. XX, no. 1.)

Locates copies in the University of North Carolina Library and in the collection of the North Carolina State Library and in the collections of the North Carolina Historical Commission.

Fries, Adelaide L. *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina.* Raleigh: Edwards & Broughton, 1922–30. 4 vols. ("Publications of the North Carolina Historical Commission.")

Transcripts and translations of Moravian records, 1752–83, now in the possession of the Wachovia Historical Society, Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

Hamilton, J. G. de Roulhac. "Preservation of North Carolina history," *North Carolina historical review*, IV (Jan., 1927), 3–21.

Chiefly a description of the activities of the North Carolina Historical Commission.

North Carolina. Historical Commission. *Biennial reports*, 1903–30. Raleigh, 1904–30.

Contain lists of newspapers, county records, and other accessions of the Commission.

North Carolina. Historical Commission. *Calendars of manuscript collections. Volume I, Prepared from original manuscripts in the collections of the North Carolina Historical Commission*, by D. L. Corbitt, calendar clerk. Raleigh: Edwards & Broughton, 1926. Pp. 351. No more issued.

North Carolina. Historical Commission. *Handbook of county records deposited with the North Carolina Historical Commission.* Raleigh: Edwards & Broughton, 1925. Pp. 45.

Over one-half of the one hundred counties in North Carolina have deposited their records with the Commission.

North Carolina. State Library. Bibliography of bound newspapers in the North Carolina State Library. (In its: *Biennial report*, 1924–26, pp. 8–131. Raleigh: Edwards & Broughton, 1926.)

List of 4,968 volumes, confined largely to North Carolina newspapers.

North Carolina. State Library. Bibliography of North Carolina. (In its: *Biennial report*, 1916–18, pp. 23–80. Raleigh: Edwards & Broughton, 1919.)

An author-list of books in the North Carolina State Library which relate to North Carolina and North Carolinians, and books written by native North Carolinians and North Carolinians by adoption.

North Carolina. State Library. Genealogical material in the North Carolina State Library. (In its: *Biennial report*, 1926–28, pp. 11–71. Raleigh: Edwards & Broughton, 1928.)

Bibliography of general genealogy, state, county, and family histories, military rosters, newspaper clippings, and magazine articles.

THORNTON, MARY LINDSAY. *North Carolina, a classified list of books.* Raleigh: Library Commission of North Carolina, 1929.

Titles of about 200 best books in print on North Carolina, to be found in the University of North Carolina Library.

THORNTON, MARY LINDSAY. "North Carolina collection at the University," *North Carolina library bulletin*, VI (Dec., 1924), 11–14.

An account of the extensive collection of Caroliniana which has been built up at the University of North Carolina.

WEEKS, STEPHEN B. *Bibliography of the historical literature of North Carolina.* Cambridge: Harvard University, 1895. Pp. 79.

Compiled largely from material in the University of North Carolina, North Carolina State Library, Trinity College (now Duke University), and Wake Forest College. Locations not given.

WEEKS, STEPHEN B. *Press of North Carolina in the eighteenth century.* Brooklyn, New York: Historical Printing Club, 1891. Pp. 80.

Locates newspaper files in the University of North Carolina Library and in the North Carolina State Library.

WEEKS, STEPHEN B. *Weeks Collection of Caroliniana.* Raleigh: E. M. Uzzell, 1907. Pp. 31.

Description of a collection now in the University of North Carolina Library.

WESTCOTT, MARY, *and* RAMAGE, ALLENE. *Checklist of United States newspapers (and weeklies before 1800) in the general library. Part 1, Alabama–Georgia.* Durham: Duke University, 1932. Pp. 133. (Bibliographical contributions of the Duke University libraries.)

Newspaper files from Alabama, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, District of Columbia, Florida, and Georgia in the Duke Library.

WILSON, LOUIS R. Fiction with North Carolina setting. (In: *North Carolina review*, June 2, 1912, p. 3.)

Locates copies in the University of North Carolina Library, and two private collections now in the University Library. Includes over 100 titles.

South Carolina

CHARLESTON LIBRARY SOCIETY. *Catalogue of the portraits, books, pamphlets, maps and manuscripts presented to the Charleston Library Society.* Columbia, South Carolina, 1908. Pp. 148.

A classified subject list of about 900 items relating to the history of South Carolina and Charleston.

English, Elisabeth D. *Author list of Caroliniana in the University of South Carolina Library*. Columbia, South Carolina: University of South Carolina, 1923. Pp. 337. (University of South Carolina bulletin, no. 134, Dec. 15, 1923.)

Green, Edwin L. *Library of the University of South Carolina*. Columbia, South Carolina, 1906. Pp. 22. (University of South Carolina bulletin, no. 7. Oct., 1906.)

Briefly describes newspaper files, manuscripts, and a few rare books found in the University of South Carolina Library.

Salley, A. S. First presses of South Carolina. (In: Bibliographical Society of America, *Proceedings and papers*, II, 28–69. N.Y. The Society, 1907–8.)

Locates copies in the South Carolina Historical Society, Charleston Library Society, the Library of Congress, etc., of the output of South Carolina presses up to July 4, 1776.

Salley, A. S. "Preservation of South Carolina history," *North Carolina historical review*, IV (Apr., 1927), 145–57.

Discusses the published records of South Carolina history and the activities of the South Carolina Historical Commission.

South Carolina Historical Society. *Collections*. Charleston, 1857–59. 3 vols.

"List of abstracts of papers in the State paper office, London, relating to South Carolina," I, 87–307; II, 118–326; III, 272–343.

Tennessee

Calvin Morgan McClung *Historical Collection . . . . presented to Lawson McGhee Library*. Knoxville, Tennessee, 1921. Pp. 192.

An author-list of books, pamphlets, pictures, and maps relating to early western travel, and the history and genealogy of Tennessee and other southern states.

Hamer, Philip M. "Preservation of Tennessee history," *North Carolina historical review*, VI (Apr., 1929), 127–39.

Describes the work of libraries, historical societies, and other organizations engaged in collecting Tennessee history.

Mellen, George F. "Calvin Morgan McClung and his library," *Tennessee historical magazine*, VII (Apr., 1921), 3–26.

A detailed analysis of this important collection by states and subject matter.

Sioussat, St. George L. Preliminary report upon the archives of Tennessee. (In: American Historical Association, *Annual report* for 1906, II, 197–238. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1908.)

Tennessee. State Library. *Catalogue*. Tennesseana. (In its: *Biennial report* for 1911–12, pp. 31–133. Nashville, 1913.)

Virginia

CAPPON, LESTER J. *Bibliography of Virginia history since 1865.* University of Virginia, Institute for Research in the Social Sciences, 1930. Pp. 900.

Locates 6,242 items in ten Virginia libraries, and in eighteen libraries outside the South.

NORFOLK, VIRGINIA. PUBLIC LIBRARY. *Annual report,* for 1908. Norfolk, 1908.

List of newspapers in the library, pp. 16–24.

STANARD, WILLIAM G. Virginia archives. (In: American Historical Association, *Annual report* for 1903, I, 645–64. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904.)

Records on file in the Virginia State Library, the Virginia Historical Society, Library of Congress, and scattered material in other places.

TYLER, LYON G. "Preservation of Virginia history," *North Carolina historical review,* III (Oct., 1926), 529–38.

Describes the work of the Virginia State Library in detail and other organizations more briefly.

VIRGINIA. STATE LIBRARY. Bibliography of the conventions and constitutions of Virginia, including references to essays, letters and speeches in newspapers, by Earl G. Swem. (In its: *Bulletin,* Vol. III, no. 4, pp. 355–441. Richmond, 1910.)

Most of the material listed is in the Virginia State Library.

VIRGINIA. STATE LIBRARY. Bibliography of Virginia, by Earl G. Swem. (In its: *Bulletin,* Vol. VIII (nos. 2–4; Vol. X, nos. 1–4; Vol. XII, nos. 1–2. Richmond, Bottom, 1916–19.)

Contains the titles of books in the Virginia State Library relating to Virginia and Virginians, books written by Virginians, and those printed in Virginia.

VIRGINIA. STATE LIBRARY. Finding-list of American history. (In its: *Bulletin,* Vol. I, no. 3, pp. 135–292. Richmond, 1908.)

A catalogue of the books on American history in the Virginia State Library.

VIRGINIA. STATE LIBRARY. Finding-list of history (except American history). (In its: *Bulletin,* II, 3–190. Richmond, 1909.)

VIRGINIA. STATE LIBRARY. List of manuscripts recently deposited in the Virginia State Library by the state auditor. Comp. by Earl G. Swem. (In its: *Bulletin,* Vol. VII, no. 1. Richmond, 1913. Pp. 32.)

Consists of a list of some thousands of documents of the Revolutionary and post-Revolutionary periods, important for the economic and social history of the state. There is also a collection of George Rogers Clark papers, including much of value in the history of the Northwest.

VIRGINIA. STATE LIBRARY. List of manuscripts relating to the history of agriculture in Virginia . . . . now in the Virginia State Library. Comp. by Earl G. Swem. (In its: *Bulletin*, Vol. VI, no. 1. Richmond, 1913. Pp. 20.)

VIRGINIA. STATE LIBRARY. List of newspapers in the Virginia State Library, Confederate Museum, and Valentine Museum. (In its: *Bulletin*, Vol. V, no. 4, pp. 281–425. Richmond, 1912.)

VIRGINIA. STATE LIBRARY. List of publications of the Confederate States government in Virginia State Library and the Library of the Confederate Memorial Literary Society. (In its: *Bulletin*, Vol. IV, no. 1, pp. 1–72. Richmond, 1911.)

VIRGINIA. STATE LIBRARY. Maps relating to Virginia in the Virginia State Library and other departments of the commonwealth, ... by Earl G. Swem. (In its: *Bulletin*, Vol. VII, nos. 2–3. Richmond, Bottom, 1914. Pp. 37–263.)

A chronological list, 1590–1914.

VIRGINIA. STATE LIBRARY. Trial bibliography of colonial Virginia. (In its: *Fifth-sixth annual report*, 1908–10. Richmond, Bottom, 1908–10.)

List of publications relating to colonial Virginia issued during the period 1608–1776. Gives location of copies in the Virginia State Library, the Virginia Historical Society, and in other libraries outside the South.

VIRGINIA. UNIVERSITY. LIBRARY. *The Byrd Library; a collection of Virginiana in the library of the University of Virginia.* Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1914. Pp. 45.

Southern material in libraries outside the South

BOSTON ATHENAEUM. *Confederate literature; a list of books and newspapers, maps, music, and miscellaneous matter printed in the South during the Confederacy, now in the Boston Athenaeum.* Boston: Boston Athenaeum, 1917. Pp. 213.

HENRY, EDWARD A. *Durrett collection, now in the library of the University of Chicago.* Chicago, 1914. Pp. 38.

Reprinted from the Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America, vol. 8.

Description of a large collection of books on Kentucky and Virginia, including copies of almost all early books of travel and description which touch upon Kentucky, all the early histories, and many newspapers and manuscripts. A checklist of Kentucky newspapers, listing 120 titles, is given on pp. 10–27. A checklist of 114 newspapers, outside of Kentucky, mainly southern, is given on pp. 27–38.

List of works in the New York Public Library relating to Virginia. (*New York Public Library bulletin*, Vol. XI, 1907, pp. 64–83, 99–125, 143–68.)

Of particular interest for its seventeenth century material.

Wisconsin State Historical Society. *Calendar of the Kentucky papers of the Draper Collection of manuscripts*. Madison: The Society, 1925. Pp. 624. ("Publications of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin," Calendar series, Vol. II.)

Wisconsin State Historical Society. *Calendar of the Tennessee and King's Mountain papers of the Draper Collection of manuscripts*. Madison: The Society, 1929. Pp. 699. ("Publications of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin," Calendar series, Vol. III.)

A chronological record of pamphlets, manuscripts, and other material.

Wisconsin State Historical Society. *Preston and Virginia papers of the Draper Collection of manuscripts*. Madison: The Society, 1915. Pp. 357. ("Publications of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin," Calendar series, Vol. I.)

A chronological list of two important manuscript collections on Virginia.

THE NEGRO IN EARLY AMERICAN SONGSTERS

By S. Foster Damon

THE most vigorous American arts are democratic, and have risen from the soil, often against the disapproval of the cultured, who prefer to import or imitate the European arts. America, a musical nation, has produced no composer to rank beside Bach, Beethoven, Wagner, or Stravinsky; yet its popular music has swept the world and made foreigners dance to American rhythms for some years now. Highbrows may sneer and moralists carp; but I, for one, rejoice at this evidence of vitality, as I feel sure that, when the great American composer does appear, he will find authentic and native rhythms, scales, melodic and harmonic devices, orchestral effects, and even leitmotifs, waiting to be used in a masterpiece.

The strongest single element in this music of ours is unquestionably the negro element. Yet, in no history of American music have I found any thoroughgoing attempt to discover its obscure sources; and though some material is to be found scattered through the histories of our stage, evidently much remains undiscovered. Recently I was turning over some eighty odd songsters published in or before 1830, now in the Harris Collection of American Poetry and Plays, at Brown University; and the negro material there seemed to justify various notes and conclusions which I shall present here, in the hope that this paper may be of use to some future historian of our song.

> Ne'er fear, boys, cheer for Virginie, old Virginie;
> That am the place where the darkies first did land,
> That am the spot where the boys from poor old Guinea
> First sang the songs that compose our happy band.[1]

[1] Nelson Kneass, "Ne'er fear, boys, cheer" (Geo. Christy & Wood's Minstrels), New York, 1854 [sheet-music].

No doubt this old minstrel song is historically correct; but these primal African songs never reached the songsters, which tell another tale—the tale of white discovery and imitation of the songs of the blacks. At the beginning, what the negroes were singing in chapel and cabin and kitchen and cotton field had virtually no resemblance to what the corked faces sang on the stage; in fact, the first song we have traced came, not from Africa to Virginia, but from London to New York.

Probably every negro lyric in this country before the War of 1812 was English. There may be exceptions, but neither internal nor external evidence indicates a native origin for any song I have found. The English were interested in the West Indies, which got onto their stage and thus into their songs shortly before our Revolution; these negro songs were comic complaints in dialect. Shortly after the Revolution, humanitarianism began its crusade against slavery; then a new type of song arose: the tragic complaint in the language of conventional poetry. These two were the only types before the War of 1812.

The first black-face performances on the American stage were Othello and Oroonoko; but as neither of these heroes sang songs, and as neither was colored any deeper than his skin, we may pass them over. Odell, in his voluminous *Annals of the New York stage* (I, 103), records "A negro dance in character" performed by one Mr. Tea on April 14, 1767; him also we must pass over, although this is our first evidence of the impersonation of a native black on our boards, since, if he sang (which is unlikely), the words have perished.

Apparently the first negro song presented on the American stage was sung in New York, May 29, 1769, by Lewis Hallam the younger, as Mungo, in Bickerstaffe's *Padlock* (1768).[2] According to Dunlap, Hallam gave an impersonation of the real negro that went far beyond the author's original conception,[3]

[2] Odell, *Annals of the New York stage*, I, 151.

[3] Laurence Hutton, *Curiosities of the American stage*, Boston, 1891, p. 94.

and the part became very popular. Nineteen years later (and twenty after the original London production), Mungo's "Dear heart! what a terrible life am I led!" appeared in the *American songster*, New York, 1788—the earliest appearance of a negro song in any of the songsters I have seen.

Dear heart! what a terrible life am I led!
A dog has better, that's shelter'd and fed;
Night and day 'tis the same,
My pain is dere game;
Me wish to de Lord me was dead.
Whate'er's to be done,
Poor Blacky must run;
Mungo here, Mungo dere,
Mungo every where.
Above or below,
Sirrah, come, sirrah, go;
Do so, and do so,
Oh! Oh!
Me wish to de Lord me was dead.

The second negro singing rôle, hitherto unnoted, was that of Fan Fan in Burgoyne's *Boston blockade*, written after his arrival here in the spring of 1775 and performed at Faneuil Hall some time in the following winter, as is proved by these lines from the Finale:

'Tis our Aim by Amusement thus chearful and gay,
To wile a few hours of Winter away:
While we rest on our Arms, call the Arts to our Aid,
And be merry in Spite of the Boston Blockade.

I have not been able to date the first performance exactly; but as theatricals were under way in September, when *Zara* was acted with a Prologue by Burgoyne, and as he left on December 6, we may accept those two dates as the probable *quo* and *quem*. I doubt if Burgoyne would have gone without gracing the first night of his own play. The famous interrupted performance took place on January 8, 1776, a month after his departure. Tradition relates that a burlesque Washington was conducting a monkey-drill when a soldier dashed on the stage, shouting:

"The Yankees are fortifying Bunker Hill!" The audience laughed, but the actors rushed to their posts; and the next day the uninvited Whig ladies were delighted to learn that the Tory ladies had to return home unescorted.

An unexpected bit of evidence proves, I think, that there was at least one other performance besides this abbreviated one. In 1839, an old lady, who had seen the show as a girl, drew from a remarkable memory four of the five stanzas of the Finale, and contributed them to the *New-York mirror* (XVII, 5) for June 29, 1839. As she did not say the performance was interrupted—in fact, as she remembered the Finale—one may conclude that it was not. Curiously enough, her very lapses of memory prove informative: she forgot the names of three of the four principal characters; so she characterized them as "The hero—a young officer," and so on. The only name she remembered was "Fanfan—negress": evidently Fanfan's part was a good one.

Burgoyne never published his play, for historic reasons; the text is presumably lost; fortunately, however, at the Massachusetts Historical Society is an undated handbill, entitled *A Vaudevil, Sung by the Characters at the Conclusion of a new Farce, called the Boston Blockade*,[4] which preserves the correct text of the complete Finale. As each character in turn sums up his achievements, the general course of the play can be easily reconstructed, especially with the aid of the old lady's description of the singers, and with the tradition of the burlesque Washington. Fanfan was the colored soubrette; her lines run—

> Your Pardon my Massas one Word to intrude,
> I'm sure in my Heart you won't all tink me rude:
> Tho' in Public you scoff, I see many a Spark
> Woud tink me a sweet pretty Girl in the Dark.
> Thus merily runs the World on with *Fan fan*,
> I eat good salt Pork and get kiss'd by white Man:
> I do Misses Business, she pleas'd and I paid,
> Egad I no tir'd of Boston Blockade.

[4] Reproduced in Justin Winsor's *Narrative and critical history of America*, Boston, 1888, VI, 154.

I have devoted so much time to this play, as almost nothing has been known about it; in fact, F. J. Hudleston, in his by no means idolatrous *Gentleman Johnny Burgoyne*, never mentions it. A couple of Burgoyne's songs appear in American songsters, but none of them is negro.

The next songs of this type were by the prolific Charles Dibdin, best known for his sea songs. A rondo from his *Wags* (1790) appeared in the *American songster*, Baltimore, 1799; the opening lines of this black satire on white follies are—

One negro, wi my banjer,
Me from Jenny come,
Wid cunning yiei
Me savez spy
De buckra world one hum,
As troo de street a stranger
Me my banjer strum:

My missy for one black dog about the house me kick,
Him say, my nassy tawny face enough to make him sick;
But when my massa he go out, she then no longer rail
For first me let the captain in, and then me [tell] no tale:
So aunt Quashy say
Do tabby, brown, or black, or white,
You see um in one night,
Every sort of cat be gray.
One negro, *&c.*

Dibdin's "Kickaraboo," as it finally came to be called, was a queer rejoicing over the prospect of death, written for his *Christmas gambols* (1795). It appeared in *A collection of songs*, Philadelphia, 1799, and in a couple of later publications.

Poor negroe say one ting you no take offence,
Black and white be one colour a hundred year hence,
For when massa death kick him into the grave,
He no spare negroe, buckra, nor massa, nor slave.
Then dance, and then sing, and the banjer thrum thrum,
He foolish to tink what to-morrow m[a]y come,
Lilly laugh and be fat, do best ting you can do,
Time enough to be sad when you kickaraboo.

Dibdin's "Negro philosophy," from his *General election* (1796), is in no songster I have seen, but the sheet-music was advertised December, 1797, in Philadelphia and January, 1798, in New York, according to O. G. Sonneck's *Bibliography of American secular music*, Washington, 1905 (p. 98); it was sung for the first time in New York on August 16, 1806, according to Odell (II, 146). In Dibdin's collected lyrics will be found a few other negro songs, but apparently they never reached the American consciousness.

Three more songs of this type I have not traced to any source. "A new negro song," to the tune of "Bobin Joan," is to be found in the *Columbian songster*, New York, 1797.

> Me be one poor slave, brought into Barbado,
> Ven one pickaninny, such de cruel trado,
> Now me vetch and carry, now go here and dere, [sir,]
> Dey no let me rest, dey for black man no care, sir.
> Tol de rol, de rol.

"Negro and buckra man," another black satire on white follies, is of the same type, though apparently later, as I found it no earlier than in the *Songster's repository*, New York, 1811; and as I found it in four other songsters as well, it was easily the most popular of its kind.

> Great way off at sea, when at home I benee,
> Buckra man steal me, from the coast of Guinea;
> Christian massee pray, call me heat[h]en doggee,
> Den I run away, very much he floggee.
> Ri tol lol lol la.

The last and least popular of this type (at least, I have not found it in a songster)[5] is the "Bonja song, a favorite negro air," published as sheet-music at New York by J. A. & W. Geib, 23

[5] Yet it must have had some vogue, for Harriet Beecher Stowe included the words (with some variants) in her *Dred*, Boston, 1856 (I, 70–71), as Miss Elizabeth Spicer, custodian of the Harris Collection informs me. It was then reset to music by the English composer, W. H. Montgomery, and published as nos. 1180 and 1181 of the *Musical bouquet*, London, n.d., as "While I my banjo play. Lisette's song. Written by Harriet Beecher Stowe."

Maiden Lane [1818–21]. It is evidently a weak copy of Dibdin's *Wag* rondo, and the satiric complaint has simmered down to anemic content in dubious dialect.

> What are the joys of white men here,
> What are his pleasures say?
> Me want no joys no ills me fear,
> But on my Bonja play.
> Me want no joys no ills me fear,
> But on my Bonja play.
> Me sing all day me sleep all night
> Me hab no care my heart is light
> Me tink not what tomorrow bring
> Me happy so me sing.

All these songs, except possibly the last two, are of eighteenth-century English origin; all, except possibly the last three, came from dramatic productions. The dialect, which sounds like a cockney, Frenchified English, sprinkled with such words as *buckra*, *banjo*, *massa*, *pickaninny*, was probably fairly close to the West Indian speech. The tone (except for the last one) is always that of comic complaint; the singer is amusing but dissatisfied with his lot or scornful of white practices. Judging by the reprints in songsters, only "Negro and buckra man" could have been anything like popular in America.

The second or humanitarian type of song began with George Colman, Jr.'s "opera," *Inkle and Yarico* (1787). This comedy with songs argued sentimentally against the slave trade. The original story was extracted out of Lignon's *Account of Barbadoes* and retold by the tender-hearted Dick Steele in the *Spectator* for March 13, 1711. Colman expanded it and changed the cruel ending to a happy one. In his opera, Inkle, an Englishman, and Trudge, his servant, are pursued by the coal-black savages that inhabit the American forests, then are saved by Yarico, a noble female savage, and her comic companion Wowski. The quartette eventually sails for the West Indies together; there Trudge refuses to sell his paramour, but Mr. Inkle, faced by his white fiancée, nearly does. His conscience triumphs over

interest, however, and the opera ends merrily with a double miscegenation. It was performed in Boston in 1794 and in New York in 1796.

Mrs. Inchbald, in her prefatory Remarks to the text, objected that the first scenes should be laid in Africa, not America. The cause, however, is clear: the original story was told of Indians, while Colman was concerned about the negroes. The confusion is aggravated when we discover we cannot tell to which race the two women belong. Wowski certainly seems black, yet once is called an Indian; Yarico describes herself as an Indian maid, but is also called a blackamoor. Her language is the most literary of English, yet in the American songsters her lyrics become tinged unmistakably with negro dialect; whereas Wowski talks an unidentifiable dialect, but sings in perfect English.

"Oh! say simple maid," a "dialogue" between Inkle and Yarico, was published as sheet-music in New York, about 1797–98; it also appeared in the *American musical miscellany*, Northampton, 1798, and in the *Songster's companion*, Brattleborough, 1815. A solo of Yarico's, to the tune of "Allen Brooke of Windermere," was published in *A choice collection of admired songs*, Baltimore, 1805; the first stanza is worth reprinting, to show how the American knowledge of the negro influenced the English text.

O Inkle, tink how griev'd my heart;
Say, is it true that we must part?
Oh! tink, when first my grot you spied,
How danger lurk'd on ev'ry side;
And when you saw the daring foe,
Who save you but poor Yarico?

Colman's opera initiated the lyrical onslaught against slavery; it was followed by quite a number of sentimental songs bewailing the injustice of the negro's lot, sung with darkened skin, but always in the high language of conventional tragedy. Usually these songs proved somewhat more popular than their comic predecessors. Cowper's "The slave's complaint" (1788) ap-

peared in the *American songster*, Baltimore, 1799, and in two later collections; it was sung to the tune of "How imperfect is expression."

Forc'd from home, and all its pleasures,
Afric's coast I left forlorn,
To increase a stranger's treasures
O'er the raging billows borne.
Men from England bought and sold me,
Paid my price in paltry gold;
But though slave they have enroll'd me,
Minds are never to be sold.

Cowper's "Pity for poor Africans" (also written in 1788)[6] found a place only in *Mirth and song*, Boston, 1804; perhaps its comparative unpopularity was due to the fact that it should be sung in the character of a white hypocrite.

By far the most popular song of this group was "The negro boy," the author of which I have been unable to trace. My earliest finding of the text was in the *Providence gazette and country journal* (no. 1494; no. 33 of Vol. XXIX) for August 18, 1792; it was contributed with this note to the editor:

The inclosed lines were lately received from a respectable merchant of this place, now in London. They are simple, natural, and charmingly descriptive of the greatest existing blot on the character of man—and ask a place in your Poet's Corner.

SENSIBILITY.

Under the title is the following history of the song:

The African Prince, who in the last summer arrived in England, and is now under the tuition of a gentleman of the University of Cambridge, being asked what he gave for his Watch, answered, "*What I will never give again:—I gave a fine Boy for it.*"

The first of the seven stanzas reads:

When avarice enslaves the mind.
And selfish views alone bear sway,

[6] Published in the *County magazine*, Salisbury, England (II, xxix, 74) for May, 1788, over the pseudonym "Homo." There is no indication that this was its first appearance in print.

Man turns a savage to his kind,
And blood and rapine mark his way.
Alas! for this poor simple toy,
I sold a blooming Negro Boy.

In the songsters, the first line usually reads "When thirst of gold enslaves the mind," and the number of stanzas is reduced.

The earliest American performance found hitherto was that of Joseph Tyler, who, on "Monday next" after January 6, 1796, sang it at the Federal-Street Theatre, Boston.[7] Mrs. Graupner sang it again at the same theater, after Act II of Southerne's *Oroonoko*, on December 30, 1799.[8] It had already been published in the *American musical miscellany*, Northampton, 1798; between 1799 and 1829 it appeared in at least fifteen other songsters.

[7] L. A. H[all], "Some early black-face performances and the first minstrel troupe," *Harvard library notes* (no. 2), Oct., 1920. Mrs. Hall first called my attention to this performance, and has given me much valuable assistance from the Harvard Theater Collection.

Isaac J. Greenwood, in his *Circus, its origin and growth prior to 1835, with a sketch of negro minstrelsy*, 2d ed., with additions, New York, 1909, p. 122, says: "As to the advent of Negro minstrelsy in America, François Blanchard, in *Columbian centinel*, Boston, July 22, 1795, states that 'having been informed that the music performed by men of colour had been disagreeable to some Ladies,' he had changed it; this is the first Negro minstrel band we read of. The next year, on his benefit night, January 11, 1796, at the Boston Theatre, Mr. Joseph Tyler sang 'the admired song of the Poor Negro Boy.' It was probably the same production which appeared in the 'Columbian Songster,' published at New York in 1797." But it was not the same song; see my bibliography.

Sonneck (p. 98) says that the sheet-music, as "sung by Mr. Tyler . . . . from Inkle and Yarico," was advertised as published in February, 1796 (it must have been "introduced," as it was not part of Colman's text); and that on August 24, 1796, it was advertised as appearing in William Norman's *Musical repository*, Boston, I, no. 9 (*ibid.*, p. 95).

[8] Mrs. Hall, in her article just cited, clears up the three following vulgar errors about Mrs. Graupner's appearance: (1) that it was the first black-face performance in America; (2) that Mr. Graupner was the singer; and (3) that the advertised performance was canceled because of the news of Washington's death. The advertisement reads in part: "On Monday Evening, Dec. 30, will be presented the Tragedy of Oroonoko. . . . . End of act 2d. the Song of The Negro Boy, by Mrs. Graupner. . . . . To which will be added, a Pantomimic entertainment called Gil Blas. . . . . After which will be delivered a Monody, on the death of General Washington. . . . . N.B. the Theater will be hung with Black. . . . ."

"On slavery" ("The power that created the day and the night"), which appeared in the *Columbian songster*, New York, 1797, might be sung by either white or black, but was part of the lyrical propaganda. Far more popular was a beggar's song, "The desponding negro" ("On Afric's wide plains where the lion, now roaring") by John Collins.[9] Sonneck (p. 38) says the sheet-music was advertised in August, 1793; I have found it in the *Syren*, Wilmington, 1797, and six subsequent songsters. Another English song, which was published as sheet-music, might be mentioned here, although I have not found it in any songster: "The wretched slave" ("Ah, could my fault'ring tongue impart") from "the new opera" *Paul and Virginia* (1800) by James Cobb, first performed in New York on May 7, 1802, according to Odell (II, 137).

This brings us into the nineteenth century; and here I have found two more songs, for which I have traced neither author nor source; nor from the context could one guess on which side of the Atlantic they originated. "The African" ("Wide over the tremulous sea"), which describes the suicide of a proud slave called Maraton, is undoubtedly English: it was printed in the *County magazine*, Salisbury, England (II, xxviii, 50), for April, 1788, thirteen years before it was reprinted in the *Temple of harmony*, Baltimore, 1801; later it appeared in three other American songsters. Of the same type is "The dying negro" ("O'er my toil-wither'd limbs sickly languors are shed"), published in the *Humming bird*, Baltimore, 1809, and *Songs for the parlor*, New Haven, 1818.

With P. M. James's[10] "Negro's lament for Mungo Park" and W. Scott's "Dirge on Mungo Park," both of which appeared in Samuel W. Cole's *Muse*, Cornish, Maine, 1827, the tradition of the sentimentalized negro passes beyond our ken, but was revived with a difference by Whittier and the other Abolitionist

[9] He included it in his *Scripscrapologia*, Birmingham, 1804, pp. 122–23.

[10] Ascribed to him in the *Casquet of literary gems*, ed. Alex. Whitelow, Glasgow, n.d., I, 261.

poets, who usually felt that dialect was inconsistent with tragedy. While this type of lyric proved of importance historically, it seems to have accomplished little either as literature or music.

The third type of negro song—and the first unmistakably written by Americans and about the American negro—was started by the War of 1812—in fact, by the victory of September 11, 1814, at Plattsburg. This type of song is patriotic, comic, and in native dialect.

"The siege of Plattsburgh," perhaps better known as "Back side Albany," was written by Micah Hawkins[11] to the tune of "Boyne water." It had its *première* in the Green Street Theater at Albany; and Rice[12] names three claimants to the honor of having been the original singer. It was printed in the *Columbian harmonist*, Albany, 1815, with this note:

Sung for several nights, with great applause, at a Theatre three thousand one hundred and sixty miles from London, in the character of a Black Sailor.

The first stanza runs—

Back side Albany stan' Lake Champlain,
One little pond, half full a' water,
Plat-te-bug dare too, close pon de main,
Town small—he grow bigger do hereater.
On Lake Champlain
Uncle Sam set he boat,
And Massa M'Donough he sail 'em;
While Gen'ral M'Comb
Make Plat-te-bug he home,
Wid de army, who courage nebber fail 'em.

[11] Mr. Joseph Muller, of Closter, New Jersey, informs me that on the sheet-music published about 1835 his name is given as Micah Hawkins, and on another piece published in 1839 as Michael Hawkins. The Index to Vol. II of the *Aeolian harp*, New York, 1817, names him simply "Hawkins." The 1837 sheet-music (Harvard Theater Collection) states on the cover that the song was "composed by Mr. Michael Hawkins" and inside that it was "written by Mr. Mical Hawkins." The corruption of Micah to Michael seems obvious.

Micah Hawkins is remembered chiefly as the author of *The saw-mill* (1822), one of the earliest American comic operas. Oscar Wegelin's pamphlet, *Micah Hawkins and "The saw-mill,"* New York, 1917, does not mention "The siege of Plattsburgh" and tells nothing datable of Hawkins's life between 1797 and 1822. His opera contains no negro songs.

[12] Edward LeRoy Rice, *Monarchs of minstrelsy*, New York, 1911, p. 6.

This song proved enormously popular. The *Star Spangled Banner*, Wilmington, 1816, reprinted it "As sung at the Theatre at Albany, in the character of a Black Sailor." Odell (II, 442) states that on June 14, 1815, Mr. Roberston sang the song; and the text "As sung at the Theatre, N.Y. in the character of a Black Sailor" was published in the *Patriotic songster*, Alexandria, 1816. Altogether, I have found it in eleven songsters between 1815 and 1830, and its popularity continued after that. In the 1830's it appeared several times as sheet-music; and Mr. Robert W. G. Vail, of the American Antiquarian Society, informs me that he learned it when a small boy from his grandfather. "The negro boy sold for a watch" was its only possible rival in popularity; and calculating from the appearances in songsters, it was only two-thirds as successful.

The next song of this type was "The guinea boy," inspired by Admiral Cockburn's depredations in the Chesapeake in 1814 and the battle of New Orleans on January 8, 1815. It is apparently an attempt to repeat the success of "The siege of Plattsburgh"; nor have I found it in print until a year after that song had been published. Evidently the Admiral anticipated our Civil War doctrine that negroes were contraband, as the singer enacts the rôle of a reluctantly impressed darkey. It was sung to the tune of "Great way off at sea, or love and whiskey" —i.e., "Negro and buckra man." Possibly the author was actually a negro (if so, it is the first lyric of genuine negro composition we have found), for the *Star Spangled Banner*, Wilmington, 1816, adds this note:

> The following song, composed by one of the "brave black patriots," who so nobly "volunteered" their services, under the redoubtable admiral Cockburn, in the Chesapeake Bay last summer, is intended to be sung in character, with unbounded applause at the next opening of the Theatres Royal, Convent [*sic*] Garden and Drury Lane.
>
> (1814) [*sic*]
>
> When me leetle boy, den me cum from Guinea,
> Buckra man teal me, bring me to Virgin-a;
> Dare me very much work,
> Great big fence-rail toat-e—

But British man, he cum,
He give me fine red coat-e.
Ri tol la ral la,
Tol lol la ral la da, &c.

The song also appears in the *Patriotic songster*, Alexandria, 1816; while in Simon Snipe's pamphlet, *The sports of New-York* [New York], 1824, it is published with textual variations under the title "Battle of New-Orleans; or, the negro volunteers," to be sung to the tune of "Bobbin Joan."

To prevent confusion, I should state here that there are two pamphlets by Simon Snipe, both entitled *The sports of New-York*. The earlier one, dated 1823, at the New York Historical Society, has been described by Odell (III, 36–37); the later one, dated 1824, is at Harvard. In the earlier one, Simon tells of visiting the African Theater, where he saw a performance of *Othello*. "Two men now sang The Rival Beauties; the verses quoted look like the beginnings of negro minstrelsy," Odell says. But this clue proved misleading, for "The rival beauties" (according to the vignettes on the sheet-music) should be performed in the characters of a Yankee farmer and a hussar. The black actors were singing white rôles. It was while I was looking for this earlier pamphlet that I found the later one, which contained a real negro song, "The battle of New Orleans." I might add that on his second trip to the African Theater, Simon saw Richard III die.

Meanwhile a white actor had filled a black rôle, to the satisfaction of both races. Edwin Forrest, in 1823, at the Globe Theater, Cincinnati, played the part of a negro in a farce by one Sol Smith, *The tailor in distress*, singing and dancing so authentically that at least one colored person in the audience pronounced him "Nigger all ober!"[13]

A third negro patriotic song was "Massa Georgee Washington and General La Fayette," sung by James Roberts (a young Scotchman of the Broadway Circus[14]) with blackened face, in

[13] Hutton, *op. cit.*, pp. 103–4.

[14] Greenwood, *op. cit.*, p. 124.

Revolutionary uniform, who appears thus on the cover of the sheet-music, which was copyrighted October 7, 1824. I have not found the text in any songster.

This patriotic type has reappeared ever since at intervals, especially as the comic parade in uniform.[15]

Meanwhile the real negroes were developing two types of song all their own: comic love-making and nonsense about animals; and it is at this period that these authentic songs begin to become evident. There is, for instance, a puzzling broadside at the American Antiquarian Society, dated Boston, July 15, 1822, entitled *Grand & Splendid Bobalition of Slavery, and "Great Annibersary Fussible," by de Africum Shocietee of Bosson.* This burlesque title makes one almost positive that the whole thing is a white joke. It announces a muster and drill of colored cadets, to be followed by a banquet, at which is to be sung a song (comic love type), the first stanza of which is—

SONG

Tune—"Soldiers Gratitude."

O love is like de pepper-corn,
  It makes one act so cute,
It make de bosom feel so warm,
  And eye shine like new boot.
I meet Miss Phillis tudder day,
  In berry pensive mood;
She almost cry her eye away
  For Pomp's ingratitude.

Needless to say, Scip, the black singer, is able to console Miss Phillis for Pomp's ingratitude, in three more stanzas. In the succeeding "Bolunteers" (toasts) the first is: "De tate of New-England—De son of Africa here set under de vinetree and fig leaf, widout nobody to moless or make him scare. Song—When

[15] For example: "Jim Brown" (1835); "Revolutionary echoes" (1848); "A soldier in the colored brigade" (1863); "Captain Grant of the black marines" (1868); "The colored military" (1877); "The Charleston blues" (1882); "The Coleville coon cadets" (1897); and "Mammy's chocolate soldier" (1918). Many other examples might be named.

me leetle boy." Though there is some indication of negro influence here, the whole thing is suspiciously white in tone.

On the other hand, a genuine negro song—and probably the first I have found—was recorded very imperfectly by the English actor, Charles Mathew, the elder. He was in New York from November, 1822, to May, 1823, giving, among other things, a highly successful monologue interspersed with songs, called "A trip to Paris." When he returned to Philadelphia in March, 1824, he had a new monologue, "A trip to America," based, at least in part, on his own experiences. According to a pamphlet, *The London Mathews; containing an account of this celebrated comedian's trip to America*, Philadelphia, 1824, he not only had gone to the elusive African Theater, but had jotted down one of the songs there; and as this visit seems unknown to Odell and everybody else, I will transcribe it.

Mr. Mathews next informs us that he went to a theatre, called the Niggers' (or Negroes') theatre, where he beholds a black tragedian in the character of Hamlet, and just enters as he is proceeding with the speech, "To be, or not to be? that is the question; whether it is nobler in *de* mind to suffer, or tak' up arms against a sea of trouble, and by *oppossum* end 'em." No sooner was the word *oppossum* out of his mouth, than the audience burst forth, in one general cry "*Oppossum!*" "*oppossum!*" "*oppossum!*" and the tragedian came forward and informed them, that he would sing their favourite melody with greater pleasure; when to please his audience, he gave them

SONG.—"*Oppossum up a Gum-tree.*"

When he had finished his song he walked up the stage, and when he got up the stage he soon came strutting down with, "Now is the winter of our discontent made glorious summer by the sun of York"; upon which a person in the boxes exclaimed, "You should play Hamlet, and not King Richard." "Yes! yes!" says the man in black; "but I just thought of New-York then, and I couldn't help talking about it."

The text of the song is given on page 27; the first of the three stanzas runs:

Opossum up a gum tree,
On de branch him lie;
Opossum up a gum tree,
Him tink no one is by.

Opossum up a gum tree,
Nigger him much bewail;
Opossum up a gum tree,
He pulls him down by the tail.
Opossum, &c.

As later and authentic versions of "Possum up a gum tree" exist, we can recognize this as a genuine negro song, of nonsense about animals, reconstructed from a rather feeble memory.

The first song in the full tradition of hilarious irresponsibility to become a great success was "Coal black Rose," a burlesque wooing (the comic love type).

Lubly Rosa, Sambo cum,
Don't you hear de Banjo tum, tum, tum?
Lubly Rosa, Sambo cum,
Don't you hear de Banjo tum, tum, tum?
Oh Rose, dear coal black Rose,
I wish I may be cortch'd if I don't lub Rose.
Oh Rose, der coal black Rose.

The words were by White Snyder;[16] the air was "appropriated from an old ballad."[17] According to Rice, "George Washington Dixon sang 'Coal Black Rose' . . . . as early as 1827. His first New York appearance was at the Lafayette Theatre, July 19, 1828." Odell (III, 421) gives the date of his first negro specialties in New York a day later, and also states that a rival negro impersonator, T. H. Blakeley, was singing "Coal black Rose" successfully the same summer in the same city (III, 399). By September, it had been expanded into an operetta, *Love in a cloud*. The words of the original song appeared in *Nickerson's town & country and naval songster*, Baltimore, 1830, as "a duet sung by Messrs. Eberle and Somerville, at the New Theatre and Circus, Baltimore." It also appears in many songsters after 1830, but as that date was the limit I set myself, I have taken no notes of them.

[16] According to the uncopyrighted and otherwise undated sheet-music published by Fiot, Meignen & Co., Philadelphia (copies in the Harvard Theater Collection and the American Antiquarian Society).

[17] Rice, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

"Coal black Rose," for all its popularity, was soon eclipsed by "Jim Crow," written in the animal nonsense tradition, and enlivened with all the topical remarks which the singer could improvise. One of the stanzas boasts:

Oh de Coal Black Rose
Once was all de go,
But now she find a ribal
In Mister Jim Crow.[18]

This song was the creation of Thomas Dartmouth Rice. Into the contradictory evidence as to the name of the negro whose dance he imitated and whose clothes he borrowed, and the date and place of the first performance, we cannot go; but certain it is that Rice's triumphal career from Pittsburgh through Baltimore and Philadelphia to New York began about 1830. The cause of his international success is clear: "Jim Crow" was the first genuine, human American negro to reach the stage. "Coal black Rose" was the broadest of burlesque: one laughed *at* the antics of the niggers; but now the audience laughed *with* a character whose wit for the first time was shared and thus appreciated.

"Jim Crow," which promptly crossed the Atlantic, insured the future of negro song. At this point, most histories of the subject are content to begin; and here properly this paper ends.

But actually the wealth and variety of negro music has been such ever since that it has not yet been properly chronicled, classified, and analyzed. Therefore, I shall try to indicate briefly (if inadequately) what seem to be important points in its development after 1830.

Rice's other lyrics and black-face operettas inspired a host of "Ethiopian melodies," some of which were of genuine negro origin. The majority followed Jim Crow's hilarious nonsense about animals; and as the songs spread in true folk fashion, the versions published as sheet-music show remarkable variants.

[18] Eighteenth stanza in the version issued as sheet-music by Geo. Willig, Jr., Baltimore, n.d.

Two editions of "Jim Crow" (respectively by Geo. Willig Junr, and John Cole, both of Baltimore and both undated) offered alternate tunes; while an edition of "Long time ago" (without imprint of any sort) offered alternate texts. The two editions of "Jim Brown" (". . . . a favorite comic song," New York, 1835, and ". . . . A celebrated nigger song," New York, 1836) are quite independent; whereas the same tunes used in John H. Hewitt's "Crow quadrilles," Philadelphia, 1837, and in J. B. Dobney's "Crow quadrilles," New York [probably 1838],[19] are virtually irreconcilable.

By comparing these variants, sometimes we may discern darkly the negro original—but only sometimes, for American music was rapidly becoming Germanized, and any rhythmic or modal peculiarities were speedily ironed out. For example, W. Clifton's arrangement of "Long time ago," published by Endicott, New York [1836], preserved the aboriginal rhythm of five-measure units; but in all the other sheet-music versions I have seen, the tune is compressed into the conventional four-measure units. Although performers may have syncopated such tunes as "Zip Coon" (1834), I have found no syncopation actually written down until "Old Dan Tucker" (1843). As for modes, the ordinary major scale was used almost exclusively;[20] but an early tendency to employ the minor seventh for leading tone (an instinct for the "natural" scale, un-"tempered" by Bach, which may be called "mixolydian") is found in "Sitting on a rail" (1836), "Jenny, get your hoe cake done" (1840), and "De ole grey goose" (1844).

The "Banjo tune," merely an alternate subtitle for the "Ethiopian melody," was due to the invention of the modern instrument. The original was simply a gourd with four strings.

[19] Date furnished by Mr. F. Munroe Endicott, of Boston, who called my attention to the "Bonja song," to the two editions of "Jim Brown," and to the two sets of "Crow quadrilles," besides being generous in other ways.

[20] "The siege of Plattsburgh" was written to an imported melody, "Boyne water," which is in the Dorian mode.

Its pleasant strumming (represented by a guitar in the sheet-music of "Coal black Rose") was doubtlessly ineffective in the theaters; consequently, "about 1830"[21] Joel Walker Sweeney earned his title of "father of the banjo" by adding a fifth string and substituting for the gourd a half cheese-box covered with skin, thus obtaining a proper sonority and a very effective timbre. For many years, however, on plantations remote from cities, the old gourd banjo persisted.

In 1843, the minstrel show was begun. Whether Dan Emmett's Virginia Minstrels or the Six Original Ethiopian Serenaders or Boston Minstrels or some other troupe was organized first, I cannot say; but their example was followed speedily by other companies.

At the end of the 1840's, dialect and serious emotion were first combined. In poetry, there had been a heavy mortality among maidens with melodious names; the epidemic now burst into song and crossed the color line, sparing neither sex nor age, master nor slave; and all this subdominant sentiment (still in the major mode) agreeably diversified the hitherto somewhat monotonous liveliness of Ethiopian tunes. Stephen Foster's *Plantation melodies* took the lead at once with "Old Uncle Ned" (1848) and kept it until "Old black Joe" (1860).[22]

In 1855, Thomas Holley Chivers experimented with syncopated verse, imitating negro songs; but it was Vachel Lindsay's *Congo* (1914) that first made a great success of this *genre*.

The spirituals were a late discovery. Religious words first crept into black-face song unobtrusively, in the guise of nonsense. "De history ob de world" (1847) contains a couple of stanzas based on Genesis; Dan Emmett's "Jordan is a hard road to travel" (pirated edition, 1852) contains a stanza about

[21] Rice, *op. cit.*, p. 22. By 1840, the modern banjo appears regularly in the pictorial covers of the sheet-music.

[22] Foster also continued the livelier tradition. Students of the works of our greatest song-writer will long be grateful to Mr. J. K. Lilly for the handsome sets of facsimile reproductions of Foster's complete compositions which he has distributed so liberally.

David and Goliath, though the rest is nonsensical or topical, except for the title-refrain; "T'other side of Jordan" (1853) and "Down in Alabam" (1858— to the tune now sung as "The old gray mare") are other examples. (Meanwhile, of course, Uncle Tom and his imitators were having their non-dialect visions of glory.) When the Civil War broke out, the songs sung in character of rejoicing darkies became suffused with apocalyptic splendor—notably Henry C. Work's "Kingdom coming" (1862), "Babylon is fallen" (1863), and "Wake, Nicodemus" (1864). But the first printed mention of the genuine spiritual I have found is Miss McKim's letter to *Dwight's journal of music*, November 8, 1862; and the first published collection was the *Slave songs of the United States*, New York, 1867.

In October, 1871, the Jubilee Singers from Fiske University, Tennessee, began their international tours, which familiarized the whole world with the spirituals. Their success inspired a new type—the "Jubilee song," also called the "end song" and the "plantation song"—which made free use of religious words, but in a spirit of secular fun. Rhythm proved stronger than religion, and even the songs of James A. Bland were issued with comic covers. This type was at its best about 1880; "A hot time in the old town" (1896) was the last very successful one.

The 1890's discovered the pickaninny and the "coon." The pickaninny lullabies were the last hark-back to old plantation life; the coon song was the new song of the negro "after a generation of freedom and therefore of responsibility."[23] It gave over the rural joys of kitchen dances and raccoon hunts for city adventures in the form of cakewalk wooings[24] and marital and financial difficulties. This urban recrudescence of the Jim Crow exuberance was intensified by the discovery of syncopation. Syncopation is discoverable in instrumental music at least as far

[23] Mark Sullivan, *Our times*, New York, 1930, III, 377.

[24] Cakewalk songs appeared in the 1870's, but cakewalking did not become popular until the nineties.

back as Gottschalk's piano piece, "Banjo" (1855);[25] and themes in Anton Dvořák's *New world symphony* (1893) were syncopated to give an American effect. (Apparently Dvořák was the first foreign composer to utilize the American negro rhythms knowingly.) But syncopation as a principle or method which could be applied to any piece of music whatsoever—even hymns[26]—was discovered in 1897: "Syncopated Sandy," written and composed by Ned Wayburn and Stanley Whiting, copyrighted that year, claimed to be "The First & Only Genuine 'Rag Time' Song."

In the second decade of the twentieth century, ragtime overflowed its original racial limitations and became national; Irving Berlin, more than anybody else, is credited with revolutionizing dancing with his "Alexander's ragtime band" (1911) and "Everybody's doin' it now" (1912), while his "International rag" (1913) celebrated the conquest of Europe. This new ragtime proclaimed the sheer joy of pure rhythm and little else. The leading European composers (Debussy, Ravel, Satie, Stravinsky) all wrote ragtime in serious compositions; this music was being published just as the World War broke out. Meanwhile negro music was developing two new types.

The first of these was "jazz," which grew out of ragtime by abandoning the mere joy of rhythm for the whole yearning of the flesh. Its rhythms became very complex; it substituted wind for strings as the basis of its orchestra; and it absorbed several rather sophisticated devices (chiefly harmonic) from Debussy. The second type was the "blues," expressing the nostalgia of the nerves. It was begun by W. C. Handy's "Memphis blues" (1912) and made permanent by his "St. Louis blues" (1914).

[25] Although other pieces celebrating the banjo, such as H. C. Harris' "The banjo, an original imitation of their inimitable instrument" (1863), utilize no syncopation at all. Dr. Carleton Sprague Smith, chief of the Music Division of the New York Public Library, informs me that an earlier "Banjo" by Gottschalk was apparently published after his death (Luis Ricardo Fors, *Gottschalk*, Habana, 1880, p. 438).

[26] As in "The rag time hymn" (1899), which ragged "Throw out the lifeline."

Jazz and blues represented, respectively, the spirits of comedy and tragedy in the war era.

Blues went white even more speedily than ragtime; perhaps in Noel Coward's "Twentieth century blues," featured in *Cavalcade*, the cycle is complete. For we started with songs by Englishmen, sung by whites in the guise of negroes; now we have recrossed the Atlantic, to find Englishmen writing negro songs to be sung in the guise of whites.

But the completing of the cycle does not mark an end: new types are developing all round us. From Cuba come new developments of the *habanera*, a rhythm originally brought by the negroes from Africa to Cuba, whence it reached Spain and thence Bizet. In our own cities there is the comic ballad about tragic slum-life, with a chorus of nonsense syllables, all sung in tones of exaggerated horror. Other nascent types no doubt I have overlooked. The orchestration is often influenced by Stravinsky's *Sacre de printemps*, without imitating it.

What more will come of the inexhaustible negro spirit, none can prophesy. Therefore this paper cannot really end: it can only stop.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

This bibliography is a list of those songsters in the Harris Collection of American Poetry and Plays which were published in or before 1830 and which contain negro songs. A few titles have been added from other sources. I have made no attempt to locate more than one copy of each book.

Titles have been given in full, except that all quotations are omitted, these omissions being indicated by four ellipses (. . . .). The capitalization follows that of the title-page of each volume exactly, except when the printer used all upper case; here nouns only have been capitalized. Imprints are given in full; any additional matter not appearing in the imprints is inclosed in brackets [ ]. In listing the songs, titles are given as they appear in the volume in question; when necessary for identification, the title under which the song appears most often is also given in brackets, or the first line of the song is quoted.

THE ÆOLIAN HARP, or Songster's Cabinet; being A selection of the most popular Songs and Recitations; Patriotic, Sentimental, Humorous, &c. In two Volumes. Vol. I. Printed and published by M. Swaim and J. Howe. New-York. 1817.

2.5×1.9 in. Vol. I: 124+[4] pp. index; "Recitations," pp. 97–124. Vol. II: 124+[4] pp. index; "Recitations," pp. 99–124.

Siege of Plattsburgh, II, 51–52. [Index attributes authorship to Hawkins.]

The Slave—A Fragment, II, 122–23. [A prose recitation.]

THE AMERICAN MOCK-BIRD; or, Cabinet of Anacreon. Being a Selection of the most elegant and fashionable Songs; as sung in the Anacreontic and Philharmonic Societies, and in most genteel Circles. With a number of choice masonic Songs and Sentiments. New-York: published by David Longworth, At the Shakspeare Gallery, no. 11, Park. 1801.

7×4.5 in. 258 pp.+[6] pp. index. Illustrations in text.

The Negro Boy. Sold for a Watch by an African Prince, p. 152.

THE AMERICAN MUSE: or, Songster's Companion. New-York: printed and sold by Smith & Forman, At the Franklin Juvenile Bookstores, 195 and 213 Greenwich-Street. 1814.

5.5×3.5 in. 211 pp.+[5] pp. index.

The Negro Boy, pp. 15–16. [Sold for a Watch by an African Prince.]

Negro and Buckra Man, pp. 67–68.

The Desponding Negro, pp. 86–87.

THE AMERICAN MUSICAL MISCELLANY: a Collection of the newest and most approved Songs, set to Music. . . . . [*8 lines of quotation*] Printed at Northampton, Massachusetts. By Andrew Wright, For Daniel Wright and Company. Sold by them, and by S. Butler, in Northampton; by I. Thomas, Jun. in Worcester; by F. Barker, in Greenfield: and by the principal booksellers in Boston. 1798.

6.6×4.6 in. xii pp.+pp. [13], 14–300. Pp. vii–xii, contents.

Song XXX. I sold a guiltless Negro Boy, pp. 82–84. [The Negro Boy. Sold for a Watch by an African Prince.] With music.

Song LXIV. The desponding Negro, pp. 166–68. With music.

Song XCVIII. Oh! Say simple Maid. A Duet, in the Comic Opera of Incle and Yarico, pp. 258–9. With music.

THE AMERICAN SONG BOOK: being a new Collection of the best patriotic, military, naval, amatory, quizical [*sic*] and sentimental Songs, extant. Printed for the New-York and Boston Book-sellers. 1815.

4.7×3.5 in. 96 pp. Pp. 94–96, index.

Siege of Plattsburgh, p. 55.

THE AMERICAN SONGSTER: being a select Collection of the most celebrated American, English, Scotch and Irish Songs. . . . . [*3 lines quotation*] New-York: Printed for Samuel Campbell, No. 44, Hanover-Square, and Thomas Allen, No. 16, Queen-Street. M,DCC,LXXXVIII. [1788]

6.3×4.1 in. xii+204 pp. Pp. v–xii, index.

Song. Sung by Mungo, in the Padlock, pp. 155–56. "Dear heart! what a terrible life am I led! A dog has better, that's shelter'd and fed. . . . ."

THE AMERICAN SONGSTER: being a select Collection Of the most celebrated American, English, Scotch and Irish Songs. . . . . [*3 lines quotation*] New-York: Printed for Samuel Campbell, No. 124, Pearl-Street. 1803.

6.1×4.2 in. [ii]+204 pp.

Song. Sung by Mungo, in the Padlock, pp. 155–56. "Dear heart! what a terrible life am I led! A dog has better, that's shelter'd and fed. . . . ."

THE AMERICAN SONGSTER. Consisting of a large Collection of the newest and most fashionable Songs. . . . . [*4 lines quotation*] Providence: printed by David Heaton, Main-Street. M,DCCC,VII. [1807]

5.7×3.6 in. 282 pp.+[6] pp. index.

The Desponding Negro, pp. 37–38.

THE AMERICAN SONGSTER; or, Federal Museum of Melody & Wit. In four Parts. Containing a Collection of much admired Songs, Selected from the writings of various English and American authors. Baltimore: Printed and Sold by Warner & Hanna, No. 2, North Gay-street, 1799.

5.3×3.5 in. 245 pp.+[7] pp. index.

Song. The Negro's Complaint, pp. 46–48.

Rondeua [*sic*]—in the Wags, pp. 112–13. "One negro, wi my banjer, Me from Jenny come. . . . ."

THE BIRDS OF BIRDS, or a musical Medley; being a rich and diversified Collection, of Miscellaneous and Patriotic Songs. [*cut*] Printed and published at New-York. 1818.

5.9×3.7 in. 141+[3] pp. index. Illustrations in text.

Siege of Plattsburgh. As sung at the Theatre New-York, in the character of a Black sailor. Tune—"Boyn [*sic*] Water," pp. 55–57.

THE BLACKBIRD, being a choice Collection of the most popular American, English, Irish, and Scotch Songs. New-York, published by Wm. Borrodaile. 1823.

7.6×4.8 in. 36 pp. Frontispiece (colored).

Siege of Plattsburgh, p. 32.

THE BLACKBIRD: consisting of a complete Collection of the most admired modern Songs. [*cut*] New-York: printed and published by Joseph M'Cleland, no. 285 Water-Street. 1827.

5.6×3.5 in. 140 pp.+pp. [141–44] contents. Pp. 35–36 lacking from this copy.
The Negro's Complaint, p. 102 [2 stanzas only].

THE BOSTON MUSICAL MISCELLANY. A Selection of modern Songs, sentimental, amatory, humorous, anacreontick. Adapted for the Voice, Violin, and German Flute. Boston: printed by J. T. Buckingham. 1811.

7.6×4.9 in. [ii]+192 pp. Pp. 190–92, index.
I sold a guiltless Negro boy, pp. 26–27. [The Negro Boy. Sold for a Watch by an African Prince.] With music.

BOSTON MUSICAL MISCELLANY: a Selection of Songs, sentimental anacreontic, humorous, amatory, and national. In two Volumes. . . . . Boston: printed and sold by J. T. Buckingham, No. 5, Marlborough-Street.—1815.

5.8×3.7 in. Vol. I, 216 pp. Pp. 213–16, index. Illustrations in text.
I sold a guiltless Negro Boy, pp. 33–35. [The Negro Boy. Sold for a Watch by an African Prince.] With music.

THE CANARY BIRD, containing A Collection of the most fashionable and delightful Songs. [*cut*] . . . . [*2 lines quotation*] Philadelphia: Published and for Sale, Wholesale only, by Freeman Scott, Corner of Tenth and Race Street. 1830.

5×3.5 in. 72 pp.
Negro Song, pp. 16–17. [Negro and Buckra Man.]
Siege of Plattsburgh, pp. 68–69.

A CHOICE COLLECTION OF ADMIRED SONGS, selected from the most approved Operas; interspersed with comic Songs, &c. As sung at the Baltimore Theatre. To which are added, Toasts & Sentiments. Baltimore: printed by G. Dobbin & Murphy, Market-Street, within one Door of the Bridge. 1805.

6.4×4 in. 60 pp.
Yarico. Tune—Allen Brooke of Windermere, pp. 46–47. "O Inkle, tink how griev'd my heart; Say, is it true that we must part? . . . ."

A COLLECTION OF SONGS, selected from the Works of Mr. Dibdin. To which are added, the newest and most favourite American patriotic Songs. . . . . [*six lines quotation*] Philadelphia: printed by J. Bioren for H. & P. Rice, and sold by J. Rice, Baltimore. 1799.

6.4×3.9 in. 328 pp. John Carter Brown copy lacks pp. 327–28.
Ballad—in Christmas Gambols, pp. 299–300. [Kickaraboo.]

THE COLUMBIAN HARMONIST, or Songster's Repository; being a Selection of the most approved sentimental, patriotic, and other Songs. Albany: Printed and sold by G. J. Loomis & Co. Corner of State and Lodge-Streets. 1815.

5.8×3.7 in. 180 pp.+[4] pp. index.

The Negro Boy, pp. 15–16. [The Negro Boy. Sold for a Watch by an African Prince.]

Siege of Plattsburgh. Sung for several nights, with great applause, at a Theatre three thousand one hundred and sixty miles from London, in the character of a Black Sailor. Tune—"Boyn [*sic*] Water," pp. 63–64.

THE COLUMBIAN SONGSTER. Being a large Collection of fashionable Songs, for Gentlemen & Ladies. In a Series of Numbers. [Wrentham, Massachusetts] Printed by Nathaniel Heaton, Jun. M,DCC,XC,IX. [1799]

5.7×3.7 in. VII numbers, vi pp. contents at end. Illustrations in text.

Song LV. The Negro Boy. Sold for a Metal Watch by an African Prince, no. III, p. 17.

THE COLUMBIAN SONGSTER, or jovial Companion: being a Collection of two hundred and twenty choice Songs, selected from various Volumes and detached Parcels—of which near fifty are American Productions. [*cut*] Mirth, Love, and Sentiment, are here happily blended. The chastest Ear unoffended. From Greenleaf's Press—New-York, 1797.

6.5×4.1 in. viii+232 pp. Pp. ii–viii, contents.

A New Negro Song. Tune—Bobin Joan, p. 18. "Me be one poor slave, brought into Barbado, Ven one pickaninny. . . . ."

On Slavery. Tune—The Son of Alknomack, &c, pp. 153–54. "The power that created the night and the day, Gave his image divine to each model of clay. . . . ."

THE DIAMOND SONGSTER; containing the most approved, Sentimental and Lively, Scottish, Irish, and national Songs. Baltimore: Published by Fielding Lucas, Jun'r. 138 Market street. Pomeroy & Toy, print. 1817.

5.3×3.2 in. [ii]+152 pp.+[4] pp. index. P. [i], engraved title.

The siege of Plattsburg, p. 140.

THE HUMMING BIRD, A Collection of New Favourite & National Songs. [*cut*] . . . . [*2 lines quotation*] Baltimore—Printed and Sold by; —Warner & Hanna. 1809.

5.3×3.3 in. 107 pp.+[3] pp. contents. Engraved title.

The Desponding Negro, pp. 82–84.

The Dying Negro, p. 84.

THE LONDON MATHEWS; containing an Account of this celebrated Comedian's Trip to America, being an Annual Lecture on Peculiarities, Characters, and Manners, founded on his own Observations and Adventures, to which are prefixed, several original comic Songs, viz. Travellers All. Mrs. Bradish's Boarding-House. Opossum up a Gum-Tree. Militia Muster Folk. Boston Post-Office. Ode to General Jackson. Illinois Inventory. The American Jester's Song, and The Farewell Finale. Embellished with Six Copper-plate Engravings. Philadelphia: Morgan & Yeager, Chesnut Street. Simon Probasco, Printer. 1824.

6.4×4.1 in. Folding colored frontispiece+36 pp. [Index] pp. [3–4]; "Original Comic Songs," pp. 22–36.

Opossum up a Gum Tree, p. 27.

THE MINSTREL, or a new and choice Selection of the most admired Songs. [*cut*] Albany: printed by G. J. Loomis & Co. State-Street. 1822.

5.9×3.8 in. 245 pp.+pp. [246–50], index.

The Negro Boy and Watch, pp. 157–58 [The Negro Boy. Sold for a Watch by an African Prince.]

Siege of Plattsburgh, pp. 221–22.

The Negro's Complaint, p. 229 [2 stanzas].

Negro Song, pp. 237–38. [Kickaraboo.]

The Slave, pp. 243–44. "Wide over the tremulous sea, The moon spread her mantle of light. . . . ."

MIRTH AND SONG: consisting of a Lecture on Heads, written by George Alexander Stevens, Esq. and The Courtship, with a Collection of approved Songs. Boston: printed by E. Lincoln, For John Whiting, of Lancaster. 1804.

7×4 in. 246 pp.+pp. [247], 248–52, index.

The African, pp. 188–89. "Wide over the tremulous sea The moon spread her mantle of light, ..."

Pity for Poor Africans, pp. 243–44.

THE MODERN SONGSTER; or, Universal Banquet of vocal Music. Consisting of A complete collection of the most admired American and English Songs, Ballads, Glees, &c. Which have been sung with applause at the Public Theatres. Also some of the best and most favorite Scotch, Irish, & Welsh Songs, Together with a curious collection of original Toasts & Sentiments, Used in the most polite circles, Including a variety of scarce old songs, not to be found in any other collection, With suitable observations on the art of singing, necessary to be

perused by all persons who wish to practice, with propriety, that agreeable pastime. Listen to the voice of Love. First Baltimore Edition. Baltimore: Printed by Warner & Hanna, Corner of South Gay & Market-Streets. 1805.

5×2.7 in. Frontispiece+244 pp.+pp. [245–52], contents; "Directions for Singing," p. [3]; "Toasts and Sentiments," pp. 241–44.

Song. [The African], pp. 51–52. "Wide over the tremulous sea, ..."

The Muse; or Flowers of Poetry; a choice Collection of favorite Odes, Poems, Songs, Elegies, Dirges, Epitaphs, Epigrams, elegant Extracts, &c. . . . . [*1 line quotation*] By Samuel W. Cole, Author of The Columbian Spelling Book. . . . . [*7 lines quotation*] Cornish, Maine: published and sold by the Author. 1827.

5.6×3.9 in. xi pp.+pp. [xii], [13], 14–216. Pp. vii–xi, contents.

The Negro's Lament for Mungo Park, pp. 44–46.

Dirge. On Mungo Park, supposed to be drowned in the Nile. [signed] W. Scott, pp. 128–29.

The Negro Boy, pp. 170–71. [The Negro Boy. Sold for a Watch by an African Prince.]

Nickerson's Town & Country and naval Songster; or, Museum of Mirth: being A Collection of the most admired and popular Songs and Recitations, as sung at different Theatres, Concerts, &c. Embellished with copperplate and wood Engravings Baltimore: engraved and published by C. V. Nickerson, No. 22 Market st. near the Centre market. 1830.

4.9×3.3 in. 126 pp.+[? pp., imperfect]. Illustrations in text.

Coal Black Rose. (Duet as sung by Messrs. Eberle and Somerville, at the New Theatre and Circus, Baltimore), pp. 6–8.

The Nightingale. A Collection of the most popular, ancient, and modern Songs: set to Music. Selected by Samuel Larkin. . . . . [*3 lines quotation*] [*cut*] Copy Right Secured. Printed for William and Daniel Treadwell, Booksellers, Portsmouth. 1804.

7.1×4.5 in. 288 pp. Pp. [9–12], contents. Pp. 161–64 lacking from this copy.

Song XXXIV. I sold a guiltless Negro Boy, pp. 99–100. [The Negro Boy. Sold for a Watch by an African Prince.] With music.

Song XLIII. The desponding Negro, pp. 122–24. With music.

The Nightingale, or musical Companion, being a Collection of entertaining Songs. [*cut*] New-York: printed and sold by Smith &

Forman, At the Franklin Juvenile Bookstores, 195 and 213 Greenwich-Street. 1814.

5.7×3.5 in. 72 pp.
The Negro Boy, pp. 15–16. [The Negro Boy. Sold for a Watch by an African Prince.]
Negro and Buckra Man, pp. 67–68.

THE PATRIOTIC SONGSTER A Collection of the most approved Patriotic, and other Songs. Alexandria: Printed by Benjamin L. Bogan. 1816.

5.1×3.1 in. 152 pp.+pp. [cliii], cliv–clvi, contents. Pp. 89–92, 147–48 lacking from this copy.
Siege of Plattsburg. (As sung at the Theatre, N.Y. in the character of a Black Sailor.) Tune—Bonye [*sic*] Water, pp. 75–77.
The Guinea Boy. Tune—Great way off at sea, &c, pp. 127–28.

THE SKY-LARK, or Gentlemen & Ladies' Vocal Magazine: being a choice Collection of fashionable Songs. Otsego: Printed and sold by H. & E. Phinney, jun. 1810.

5.4×3.3 in. 144 pp.
I Sold a Guiltless Negro Boy, pp. 122–23. [The Negro Boy, Sold for a Watch by an African Prince.]

SONGS, NAVAL, PATRIOTIC, AND MISCELLANEOUS. [*cut*] Printed and published at New York: 1818.

5.6×3.5 in. 36 pp. Illustrations in text.
Negro and Buckra Man, pp. 5–6.

SONGS FOR THE PARLOUR. Modest, Lively, Merry. [*cut*] New Haven. Sidney's Press. For J. Babcock & Son. Sold also, by S. & W. R. Babcock, Charleston, S.C. 1818.

3.9×2.6 in. [ii]+123 pp.+[5] pp. index. Frontispiece.
The Dying Negro, p. 15.
The Desponding Negro, pp. 28–30.

THE SONGSTER'S COMPANION. A new Selection of the most approved Songs, on various Subjects, at present extant. To which is added, an Appendix, containing several new and popular Songs, on Occasions produced by the late War with Great Britain. Brattleborough, Vt. Printed for the Book-sellers. 1815.

7.5×5.2 in. 312 pp. Pp. iii–xii, contents.
Oh! Say simple Maid. [A Duet, in the Comic Opera of Incle and Yarico], pp. 129–30.

THE SONGSTER'S MUSEUM; a new and choice Collection of popular Songs, selected from the best Authors. [*cut*] New-York Johnstone and Van Norden, Printers. 1824.

5.6×3.6 in. 76 pp. Pp. 75–76, contents.
The Negro Boy and Watch, pp. 22–24. [The Negro Boy. Sold for a Watch by an African Prince.]

THE SONGSTER'S MUSEUM; a new and choice Collection of popular Songs, selected from the best Authors. [*cut*] Hartford: published by Silas Andrus. 1826.

5.7×3.6 in. 76 pp. Pp. 75–76, contents.
The Negro Boy and Watch, pp. 22–24. [The Negro Boy. Sold for a Watch by an African Prince.]

THE SONGSTER'S MUSEUM; a new and choice Collection of popular Songs, selected from the best Authors. [*cut*] Hartford published by Henry Benton 1829.

5.8×3.5 in. 72 pp.
The Negro Boy and Watch, pp. 22–24. [The Negro Boy. Sold for a Watch by an African Prince.]

THE SONGSTER'S REPOSITORY; Being a choice selection of the most Esteemed Songs Many of which have not heretofore been published. [*cut*] . . . . [*2 lines quotation*] New York Published by Nath[l]. Dearborn N°. 171 Will[m]. S. 1811.

7.1×4.6 in. 286 pp. including frontispiece. Pp. 7–12, index. Illustrations in text.
Negro and Buckra Man, pp. 269–70.

THE SPORTS OF NEW-YORK. By Simon Snipe, Esq. Containing: a Peep at the grand military Ball "Hewlett at Home!" Simon in Regimentals! To which is added, Peter Zig-zag & Dolly Nig-nag. With two other Celebrated Comic Songs. Printed for the Publisher: Price Six Cents. 1824.

7.4×4.8 in. 12 pp. [Harvard College Library.]
Battle of New-Orleans; or, the Negro Volunteers. Tune—Bobbin Joan, pp. 8–9. [The Guinea Boy.]

THE STAR. A Collection of Songs, sentimental, humorous, and patriotic. Published by Butler & Lambdin, Pittsburgh, 1817. From the Press of Butler & Lambdin.

5.6×3.5 in. 170 pp.+pp. [171–75], contents. Pp. 61–66 lacking from this copy.
Siege of Plattsburg. Sung in the Theatre, in Albany, in the character of a Black Sailor. Tune—"Boyn [*sic*] Water," pp. 148–49.

THE STAR SPANGLED BANNER: being a Collection of the best naval, martial, patriotic Songs, &c. &c. &c. Chiefly written during, and in relation to the late War. . . . . [*5 lines quotation*] Wilmington, Del. Printed and sold by J. Wilson, No. 105, Market Street. 1816.

5.4×3.4 in. 108 pp. P. 108, contents.
Siege of Plattsburgh. As sung at the Theatre at Albany, in the character of a Black Sailor. Tune—Boyne Water, pp. 24–26.
When me leetle boy, pp. 26–27. [The Guinea Boy. Here given without a title, but listed in contents, p. 108, as "When me leetle boy." On p. 26 it commences: "[The following Song, composed by one of the "brave black patriots," . . . .] (1814) Tune—Great Way off at Sea, or Love and Whiskey."]

THE SYREN, or vocal Enchantress: being a Collection of the newest and most admired miscellaneous,—pathetic, and passionate,—anacreontic and jovial—comic, ingenious, and witty,—sea, hunting, and masonic Songs. Selected from the most approved sentimental, humorous, and ingenious Publications; including all the best Songs of Dibdin Edwin, &c. Wilmington: printed for and sold by James Wilson, Bookseller and Stationer, no. 5, High Street, opposite the Upper Market-House. 1797.

6.6×4.2 in. V parts in 1 vol., pp. [29–32] at end, index.
Song. The desponding Negro, Part I, Miscellaneous Songs, pp. 36–37. "On Afric's wide plains where the lion now roaring, ..."

THE TEMPLE OF HARMONY, and Songster's Pocket Companion: being a Collection of approved Songs. [*cut*] Baltimore: printed by George Fryer. 1801.

5×3.6 in. 147 pp.+pp. [149–52], contents. Frontispiece.
Song. The African, p. 29. "Wide over the tremulous sea The moon spread her mantle of light, ..."

THE VOCAL MEDLEY; or, a new Collection of fashionable, modern Songs. . . . . [*7 lines quotation*] Alexandria: printed by Cottom and Stewart, for Robert and John Gray, Booksellers and Stationers. 1801.

6.2×3.6 in. 191 pp.+pp. 192–96, index.
Song CLXIX, pp. 168–69. [Kickaraboo.]

WARBLER. A Collection of the most popular ancient and modern Songs: in four Numbers. . . . . Printed at Augusta by Peter Edes, for Ezekiel Goodale, Bookseller, Hallowell. 1805.

5.1×4.2 in. IV parts, 217 pp.+pp. [218–24], index+[1] p. adv.
The Negro Boy. Sold for a watch, by an African Prince, p. 114.

FLEURY MESPLET: UNE ETUDE SUR LES COMMENCEMENTS DE L'IMPRIMERIE DANS LA VILLE DE MONTREAL

Par AEGIDIUS FAUTEUX

LA SOCIETE AMERICAINE DE BIBLIOGRAPHIE a jugé à propos d'inscrire à son programme une étude sur les commencements de l'imprimerie dans la ville de Montréal. Je ne vois pas seulement dans ce geste l'hommage courtois d'une société de gentilshommes à l'adresse de la ville où elle est venue tenir ses assises annuelles, j'y vois une preuve nouvelle que sa curiosité intellectuelle n'est circonscrite par aucune frontière.

Mais pourquoi votre digne président m'a-t-il fait à moi-même le trop grand honneur de me charger de ce travail? Je me le suis demandé. Aurait-on découvert par hasard que j'ai écrit il y a quelques années une Histoire de l'introduction de l'imprimerie en Canada où ont été nécessairement racontés les débuts de l'art typographique en notre ville? Il me semblait pourtant que toutes les précautions avaient été prises pour que mon modeste livre, distribué privément à un petit nombre de personnes, restât à peu près inconnu. Mais avec les maitres bibliographes, l'on ne sait jamais. Il y en a à qui rien ne peut échapper, même des publications les plus secrètes. Si cela est vraiment, s'il y en a parmi vous qui, après avoir eu le flair de dénicher mon bouquin, ont eu la vertu plus méritoire encore de le lire, je me verrai forcé de leur demander un peu, et même beaucoup d'indulgence. Je ne saurais en effet me flatter de leur apprendre beaucoup de nouveau. Il est vraiment difficile, lorsque l'on parle de la même chose, de ne pas dire la même chose, et, en refaisant ex-

actement un chemin que j'ai déjà parcouru, ce sera presque nécessairement les mêmes faits que je devrai rencontrer. Mais ma meilleure excuse sera peut-être que je parle de l'imprimerie montréalaise aux représentants de la nation même à qui elle doit l'existence. Lorsqu'on parle d'une fille à sa mère, il y a moins de mal à se répéter, et s'il est un cas où le mot connu: Bis repetita placent a quelque chance d'être vrai, c'est bien celui-là, il me semble.

Philadelphie, qui avait déjà fourni à Québec, en 1764, Brown et Gilmore, a doublement mérité d'être appelée l'Alma Parens de l'imprimerie canadienne en fournissant également à Montréal, douze ans plus tard, en 1776, Fleury Mesplet, son premier imprimeur. Né à Lyon, d'une famille du peuple, Mesplet dût apprendre les rudiments de son métier dans l'un des nombreux ateliers de sa ville natale. Simple ouvrier, aussi étranger à l'art qu'à la science, il n'eut jamais rien d'un Caxton, d'un Alde Manuce ou d'un Plantin mais, par la qualité relative de sa production, il se compare avantageusement avec les autres pionniers de l'imprimerie dans les diverses communautés du Nouveau-Monde. De ses antécédents nous ne connaissons rien si ce n'est qu'avant d'aborder á Philadelphie d'où il nous est venu, il avait premièrement émigré de France en Angleterre et avait exploité un atelier à Londres, dans Covent Garden. Pendant un an peut-être que dura son séjour en Angleterre (1773–74) il a paru témoigner d'une certaine activité; nous connaissons au moins trois publications sorties de sa presse londonnienne. La première n'est qu'un simple recueil bilingue d'anecdotes à l'intention des écoles et pauvrement exécuté en conséquence mais les deux autres dues à la plume du chevalier de Champigny ont été beaucoup mieux soignées comme elles le méritaient d'ailleurs, particulièrement la *Louisiane ensanglantée* que les collectionneurs continuent à rechercher, non seulement à cause de son excessive rareté, mais à cause de son réel intérêt historique. Il faut croire toutefois que Mesplet ne fut pas satisfait du succès obtenu, car il songea bientôt à traverser les mers pour

tenter de nouveau fortune en Amérique. L'on a prétendu que c'était Benjamin Franklin lui-même qui l'avait engagé à se transporter à Philadelphie, parce qu'il pensait l'utiliser en vue d'une propagande française. Il est fort possible que l'illustre imprimeur, qui se trouva en effet à Londres en 1773, ait connu son plus modeste confrère et n'ait pas été tout à fait étranger à sa décision d'emigrer en Amérique, mais nous n'en avons jusqu'ici aucune preuve.

Quoiqu'il en soit, en 1774, nous retrouvons Mesplet à Philadelphie où il loue un atelier et où, en dépit de ce qu'il a pu dire plus tard dans un mémoire intéressé, il réussit assez mal à se faire une existence. Sur les entrefaites, le Congrès, qui rêve de se concilier le Canada et même de se l'annexer comme une quatorzième colonie, rédige une lettre à l'adresse des Habitants de la province de Québec et le donne à composer au nouvel arrivant comme au seul imprimeur français du pays. Peut-être est-ce cette première et opportune commande du Congrès qui inspira à Mesplet l'idée de changer encore une fois ses pénates et de s'établir en Canada, pays de langue française. L'on aurait en effet bien tort de croire que notre premier imprimeur a été arraché aux douceurs de Philadelphie et conduit à Montréal uniquement par les pressantes sollicitations de Franklin, de Chase, et de Carroll. La vérité est que dès 1775, un an avant que le congrès eut seulement songé à l'expédier à Montréal, il avait fait un premier voyage à Québec afin d'y étudier sur place les chances d'un établissement possible. Mais, à Philadelphie comme ailleurs, parce que son industrie était peu florissante et par suite aussi de son extraordinaire incurie, il n'avait pas été long à se couvrir de dettes et les moyens lui manquaient totalement pour opérer le changement désiré. Ce fut alors sans doute qu'en homme avisé, il imagina ce projet d'une imprimerie de propagande française dans cette ville de Montréal que venait précisément de conquérir Montgomery, et qu'il le proposa fort adroitement au Congrès avec lequel il était resté en relation

pour l'impression d'une nouvelle Lettre aux Habitants du Canada et d'un ou deux autres travaux. L'idée était plausible et le Congrès finit par l'accepter. En février 1776, Mesplet était engagé pour aller en Canada y conduire une imprimerie, et il recevait pour subvenir à ses frais de transport la somme de $200.00. C'était bien peu, et il semble bien que dans cette affaire le Congrès a plutôt condescendu au désir d'un solliciteur qu'il n'a cherché à le séduire. Avec un aussi léger viatique, le besogneux imprimeur ne fut pas allé bien loin si, pour comble de bonheur, il n'avait pas rencontré en même temps le plus bénévole des bailleurs de fonds dans la personne de Charles Berger, l'un de ses compatriotes. Ce brave homme paya toutes les dettes de Mesplet, dégagea sa presse et ses caractères qui avaient été saisis, et, pour lui permettre de continuer son entreprise, alla jusqu'à former avec lui une société dont il fournissait à peu près tout le capital, quoiqu'il ne fut pas imprimeur lui-même et qu'il dut demeurer à Philadelphie, loin de l'exploitation à laquelle il devenait interessé.

Un semblable accommodement parle haut en faveur des facultés persuasives de notre premier imprimeur montréalais qui, s'il ne fut jamais un bon payeur, parait avoir été de tout temps un heureux emprunteur.

Mais il y a souvent loin de la coupe aux lèvres et Mesplet allait une fois de plus le constater. De multiples déboires l'attendaient en effet à Montréal au lieu du riant avenir qu'il avait sans doute escompté. Parti de Philadelphie le 18 mars 1776, il n'arriva à sa destination que le 6 mai suivant, après un pénible voyage de trois semaines par la voie du lac Champlain et de la rivière Richelieu. C'est à peine s'il eut le temps de rencontrer à Montréal Benjamin Franklin qui reprit le chemin des Etats-Unis cinq jours plus tard, et, avant qu'il eut pu lui-même se trouver un local et installer tant bien que mal son outillage, les deux autres commissaires américains, Chase et Carroll, s'esquivaient à leur tour le 22 mai. De sorte que, lorsque les troupes

américaines se retirèrent définitivement de Montréal, le 10 juin 1776, le malchanceux imprimeur qu'avait commandité le Congrès n'avait pas encore eu l'occasion d'exécuter le plus petit travail pour le compte de ses employeurs. Mais le pire, c'était que, avec sa presse, et aussi son ménage, il ne pouvait songer à suivre Arnold dans sa fuite précipitée. Force lui fut donc de rester en arrière et de faire face à la musique. La situation était de fait rien moins que riante. Les autorités anglaises, redevenues maitresses de la ville, ne pouvaient voir que d'un mauvais oeil ce dernier reliquat de l'invasion rebelle retenu de force au milieu d'elles. Et il arriva ce qui devait infailliblement arriver. Huit jours à peine après le départ des troupes américaines, Fleury Mesplet était appréhendé comme suspect et jeté en prison. Cette première détention cependant ne dura qu'un peu plus de trois semaines. L'on s'aperçut probablement que le pauvre diable n'était pas aussi dangereux qu'on l'avait cru et peut-être aussi estima-t-on qu'il ne fallait pas manquer cette première occasion qui s'offrait enfin d'assurer une presse à Montréal. Il fallut toutefois quelque temps à Mesplet, après sa libération, pour se remettre sur pieds. Quelques jours après son arrivée, il s'était déjà trouvé un local non pas dans le sous-sol du Chateau de Ramezay, comme on l'a souvent répété, mais quelque part sur la rue Capitale, non loin de la place du Vieux-Marché. Mais il manquait de tout, particulièrement de papier, et pour comble de malheur, il se vit aussitôt abandonné par les aides qu'il avait amenés avec lui et qui se trouvèrent découragés par les tribulations auxquelles les associait leur patron. En dépit de tous ces obstacles, il n'en parvint pas moins à mettre en opération son atelier et durant les six mois qui restaient de 1776, il trouva le moyen de mettre au jour quatre publications, et peut-être cinq en comptant son premier Almanach de 1776 qui a dû paraître avant la fin de l'année.

Il parait généralement acquis que le premier livre sorti des presses de Mesplet à Montréal est le *Règlement de la Confrérie de*

l'Adoration perpétuelle du Saint-Sacrement et de la Bonne Mort qui porte la date de 1776. De ce petit ouvrage, il existe une édition qui n'est pas datée mais qui est certainement antérieure, puisque celle qui est datée de Montréal 1776 porte la mention expresse: Nouvelle édition. M. R. W. McLachlan, dans sa remarquable monographie consacrée à Mesplet, a émis l'avis que l'édition non datée a été imprimée à Philadelphie même en 1775, et cette opinion a été depuis suivie. Salvâ reverentiâ, je me permettrai de déclarer que rien ne me parait moins plausible. Il est vrai que, lorsqu'il fit son voyage à Québec en janvier 1775, Mesplet a dû passer par Montréal mais, alors, il n'était pas du tout assuré de s'établir dans notre province et il ne comptait pas encore sur le Congrès américain pour l'y aider. Pourquoi les Messieurs de Saint-Sulpice de Montréal, pour le compte de qui il est certain que la première comme la seconde édition du *Règlement* ont été imprimées, auraient-ils confié ce travail à un ouvrier de passage qui demeurait à Philadelphie au lieu de le confier aux imprimeurs plus voisins de Québec? Il y a tout lieu de croire que l'édition non datée du *Règlement de la Confrérie de l'Adoration perpétuelle* n'est qu'un premier tirage fait à Montréal même par Mesplet peu après son premier emprisonnement. Une autre édition, la même année, s'expliquerait par le fait qu'il n'aurait été imprimé qu'un très petit nombre d'exemplaires du premier tirage à titre d'essai.

Il n'est même pas absolument sûr que ce fameux Règlement, tant en première qu'en nouvelle édition, soit le premier imprimé de Montréal. Si l'on déniche un jour le journal d'atelier de Mesplet, comme on a eu l'avantage de retrouver le Day-Book de Brown et Gilmore, peut-être découvrira-t-on que cette distinction appartient plutôt à la tragédie de collège, *Jonathas et David*, qui a aussi été imprimée à Montréal en 1776. Cette petite pièce qui n'est pas, comme l'a cru M. McLachlan, une production canadienne, mais a pour auteur un Jésuite français du XVIIIe siècle, le Père Brumoy, a dû être jouée au collège de

Montréal à l'époque ordinaire où se sont toujours faites ces sortes de représentations, c'est-à-dire à la fin de l'année scolaire, au moment de la distribution des prix, dans les tout derniers jours de juin ou au commencement de juillet 1775. Si le livret a été publié pour la circonstance, il ne peut-être que le premier imprimé de Mesplet qui n'a été libéré de prison que le 18 juin de la même année et qui n'avait pas eu auparavant l'occasion d'exploiter son atelier. J'admets toutefois que ce n'est qu'une conjecture, car il se peut à la rigueur que la pièce n'ait été imprimée qu'après représentation, pour perpétuer en quelque façon le succès qu'elle aurait obtenu.

Ce n'est d'ailleurs pas le seul point obscur qui reste à éclaircir dans l'histoire des débuts de l'imprimerie montréalaise. Comment expliquer, par exemple, que les *Cantiques de l'âme dévote*, parus eux aussi en 1776, aient été publiés à Québec, s'il faut en croire la page de titre? Il n'y a aucune trace d'un séjour de Mesplet à Québec, autre que celui qu'il y fit au commencement de 1775, sans presse et sans caractères, et l'on ne voit pas qu'il ait pu, à aucun moment de 1776, y transporter suffisamment de son outillage pour y imprimer les *Cantiques* de Marseille, un volume qui, avec ses 610 pages, demeure le plus ambitieux auquel il se soit attaqué dans toute sa carrière. Il ne s'agit évidemment que d'une fantaisie de l'imprimeur qui entendait ne pas se contenter de Montréal comme champ d'exploitation, mais y annexer aussi bien la capitale.

En 1777 Mesplet continua d'être principalement alimenté par les institutions religieuses avec lesquelles il n'a jamais cessé de faire bon ménage, malgré la réputation de libre-penseur et même d'impie qu'on s'est plu à lui faire. Des sept publications qu'on connait de lui en cette année, cinq étaient de pure piété, catéchisme, exercices dévots ou formulaires de prières, et le sixième était à l'intention des missions sauvages. Cette dernière, quoiqu'elle ne comprenne que 16 petites pages, est la plus recherchée de toutes parce qu'elle est la première impression en

langue iroquoise connue en Canada. Intitulée: *Iontria 8aiestak-8a Ionskaneks*, Pilling l'a décrite sous le nom de Mohawk Primer.

C'est aussi en 1777 que Mesplet commença la publication de son *Almanach curieux et intéressant* pour le continuer jusqu'en 1785 avec une seule interruption en 1780. Une série complète comprend donc sept années et non pas quatre, comme l'a cru McLachlan. Ces almanachs qui ont montré la voie aux inestimables Almanachs Neilson, sont peut-être curieux, mais ils ne sont guère intéressants, en dépit de leur titre prometteur, et, à vrai dire, ils ne se recommandent que par leur excessive rareté à l'attention des collectionneurs.

En 1778, tout en accordant comme auparavant la majeure partie de son effort aux livres de piété et aux manuels scolaires, Mesplet commença cependant à sortir de cette ornière en publiant l'important journal de voyage de Lacorne Saint Luc et deux factums juridiques commandés par Pierre Du Calvet, un nouvel et dangereux ami qu'il venait de se faire. Mais cette année restera surtout marquée par l'établissement de son fameux journal: la *Gazette littéraire*. Venu à Montréal pour fonder un journal, selon le voeu du Congrès, Mesplet avait été forcé d'ajourner son projet pour les raisons déjà dites, mais il ne l'avait jamais abandonné. Il lui fallut deux ans pour réaliser un rêve qui était, dans le temps, celui de tout imprimeur. Le 2 juin 1778, après avoir obtenu l'autorisation nécessaire en multipliant les promesses d'être sage, il avait enfin la joie de lancer le premier numéro de sa *Gazette du commerce et littéraire*, car c'est ainsi qu'elle s'appela au début. Ce ne fut d'abord qu'une publication des plus anodines dont les 4 petites pages in 4to se remplissaient d'élucubrations plus ou moins philosophiques et littéraires et servaient principalement d'exutoire à tous ceux que tourmentait le mal d'écrire et même aux jeunes élèves du collège de l'endroit. Il n'y eut pendant les premiers mois rien qui put causer la moindre alarme à l'autorité la plus chatouilleuse. Mais Mesplet

avait le malheur d'avoir pour rédacteur Valentin Jautard, un autre Français émigré qui se piquait de littérature mais qui était surtout un brouillon personnage incapable de rester sage bien longtemps. Enclin à la chicane, en sa qualité d'avocat, il commença par ventiler dans le journal qui lui était confié quelques unes de ses querelles personnelles et, pour mieux atteindre ses ennemis qui étaient en place, il en vint à des attaques d'abord voilées, puis presque ouvertes, contre le Gouvernement. C'est ainsi qu'il entraina peu à peu Mesplet dans une voie qui devait les conduire tous deux sur la paille humide des cachots. Après avoir été frappée d'une première suspension qui ne fut relevée qu'à la prière d'un certain nombre de citoyens alarmés par la perspective de perdre leur unique journal, la *Gazette littéraire*, c'était son nouveau titre, finit par périr sous le poids d'un dernier article plus tendancieux encore que les autres, ce même article qui, parce qu'il était intitulé: Tant pis, tant mieux, a passé si longtemps, sur la foi d'une phrase imprécise des Mémoires imprécis de Pierre Laterrière, pour un autre journal publié sous ce nom à Montréal. Non seulement la *Gazette* fut supprimée la veille même de son premier anniversaire, le 2 juin 1779, mais propriétaire et rédacteur furent appréhendés et conduits à la prison de Québec. L'un et l'autre y restèrent confinés pendant plus de trois ans, malgré les requêtes qu'ils multiplièrent à l'adresse du gouverneur Haldimand et ce ne fut que le 1er septembre 1782 que Mesplet put regagner son foyer. Il n'avait pas été libéré, mais, évidemment avec la connivence tacite des autorités, il s'était tranquillement échappé de prison.

Mais durant ces trois ans de détention du maitre imprimeur, qu'advint-il de son atelier? M. McLachlan n'a connu qu'une seule publication portant la firme de Fleury Mesplet pendant cet intervalle: *A primer for the use of Mohawk children* et, comme il apparait que cet ouvrage a été préparé par les soins du colonel Claus à l'intention des sauvages iroquois et pour le compte même du gouvernement, il a conclu que la presse de Mesplet, saisie

après son arrestation, n'a été utilisée que cette seule fois et par ordre officiel. Mais au moment où il écrivait, en 1906, M. McLachlan ignorait que, de la presse de Mesplet, pendant la détention de son propriétaire, il était sorti au moins deux autres publications, l'*Almanach* pour 1781 et celui pour 1782. Du fait que ces deux publications n'intéressaient aucunement le gouvernement et n'ont pu être publiées par autorité, il faut bien conclure que, de 1779 à 1782, la presse de Mesplet a continué de fonctionner tant bien que mal, au moins pour les impressions courantes, par le secours d'un employé que dirigeait plus ou moins efficacement l'épouse du prisonnier.

Mesplet lui-même, après son retour, n'imprima que deux ou trois ouvrages sans importance particulière, jusqu'au 25 août 1785 alors qu'il crut ses escapades d'antan suffisamment oubliées pour ressusciter sous le nom de *Gazette de Montreal* le journal qu'il avait tant à cœur. C'est le même journal qui, après avoir été publié d'abord uniquement en français, puis dans les deux langues, parait encore aujourd'hui en anglais sous le nom de *Montreal Gazette*. La nouvelle feuille qui avait d'ailleurs revêtu un caractère différent, étant presque toute consacrée à la publication des proclamations officielles et des annonces judiciaires ou commerciales, ne parait plus avoir donné au gouvernement l'occasion de s'inquiéter et les tribulations qui lui advinrent par la suite ne furent que d'ordre financier. Mesplet, en effet ne cessa jusqu'à la fin de sa vie d'être extrêmement besogneux. N'ayant pu obtenir du Congrès américain, malgré ses mémoires multiples, qu'une partie insignifiante de la compensation qu'il réclamait pour ses services et ses pertes durant l'invasion de 1775 il ne s'arrêta pas d'empiler dettes sur dettes, fut périodiquement en butte aux saisies, et, dès 1785, lorsqu'il recommença la publication de son journal, il n'était même plus le propriétaire de son imprimerie qui lui était louée par Edward William Gray, le nouvel acquéreur. En dépit de trous ces tracas, il trouva encore le moyen de publier avant sa mort plusieurs ouvrages parmi

lesquels il convient de signaler, en 1786, Dr. Jones' *Remarks on the distemper known as Molbay Disease*, réédité l'année suivante en français, en 1789, la volumineuse traduction du *Juge à Paix* de Burns par Joseph François Perrault, et en 1791, enfin, la Bastille septentrionale.

C'est le 28 janvier 1794 que le premier imprimeur de Montréal termina sa tumultueuse carrière à l'âge relativement peu avancé de 60 ans. Il ne fut peut-être pas un habile administrateur de ses propres affaires, mais il fut un ouvrier d'une rare énergie et d'un courage peu commun et il a assurément mérité que l'on garde sa mémoire pour avoir, par vingt ans d'une lutte incessante contre les pires difficultés, établi définitivement les assises de l'imprimerie dans la métropole du Canada.

ETAT DES PUBLICATIONS SORTIES DES DIVERSES PRESSES DE FLEURY MESPLET, TANT À LONDRES QU'À PHILADELPHIE ET MONTRÉAL, DE 1773 À SA MORT EN 1794.

M. R. W. McLachlan de Montréal a déjà tenté un semblable travail, et il a publié le résultat de ses recherches sous forme d'appendice à la remarquable monographie qu'il a consacrée à Fleury Mesplet et qu'il a fait paraitre dans les *Mémoires* de la Société Royale du Canada pour 1906. En tout M. McLachlan a pu rassembler 39 publications connues de Mesplet, mais à notre sens il en faudrait déduire la 39e et dernière: «Engagement forms pour les pays d'en haut» car il ne s'agit dans l'espèce que de formules préparées en blanc pour l'engagement des voyageurs et on ne saurait les compter comme publications, pas plus d'ailleurs que les autres formules judiciaires ou blancs de facture que Mesplet a dû également imprimer de façon courante.

M. McLachlan a dressé aussi une autre liste où, en se servant de deux inventaires des effets de Mesplet faits à des époques différentes, il a cru pouvoir joindre aux publications connues qui font la matière de sa bibliographie proprement dite, d'autres plus ou moins clairement désignées dans les dits inventaires, et il est arrivé ainsi à un nombre possible de 78 publications ou impressions. Mais, non seulement, il a inscrit plusieurs items qui ne sont, comme les «engagements,» que des formes d'impression courante, mais il lui est arrivé de prendre pour des publications de Mesplet des ouvrages publiés ailleurs et qu'il avait seulement à vendre, comme par exemple, l'*Histoire chantante* de M. de

la Valinière publiée à Albany. Il se peut que quelques ouvrages de Mesplet encore inconnus sortent des greniers des vieilles familles et viennent à la lumière, mais tout ce qu'ont pu faire jusqu'ici les recherches des bibliographes, et les nôtres, a été de porter le nombre des impressions connues de Mesplet à 70, de 38 qu'il était au temps de M. McLachlan.

1773

La/Louisiane/Ensanglantée/Avec toutes les Particularités de cette horrible/Catastrophe,/Rédigées/sur le serment de Témoins dignes de foi,/par le Colonel Chevalier de Champigny./Quidquid delirant Reges plectuntur Achivi./Virg./A Londres,/Aux dépens de l'Editeur:/Chez Fleury Mesplet, No 24, Crown/Court, Little Russell Street, Covent Garden./M. DCC LXXIII. [1]

20×13 cm.

Titre, 1 p., verso blanc; Dédicace, 1 p., verso blanc; Lettre à Mylord Romney, 4 pp. n.c.; Préambule et préface, pp. i–xii; La Louisiane ensanglantée, pp. 1–123; Notes, pp. i–xxxii; Mémoire des Habitants et Négociants de la Louisiane, pp. 1–32.

Jean, chevalier de Champigny, fils de Jacques-Charles Bochard de Champigny, gouverneur des Iles sous le Vent en 1754, était colonel d'infanterie lorsqu'il se retira de l'armée française à la réforme de 1763. Après avoir vécu dans les diverses capitales de l'Europe, et particulièrement à Londres, il mourut à Amsterdam vers 1787. Il prétend reproduire ici un manuscrit qu'un officier anglais qui avait vécu en Louisiane lui aurait laissé à sa mort, mais il est possible que ce ne soit qu'une fiction d'auteur.

A la page xxxii des notes qui suivent la *Louisiane ensanglantée*, Champigny annonce qu'il doit faire imprimer chez Mesplet en 1774 une *Histoire d'Angleterre*. Deux volumes de cette Histoire qui devait en avoir 14 ont paru, mais en 1777 seulement, alors que Mesplet s'était depuis deux ans rendu en Amérique. L'on parle cependant d'un autre ouvrage de Champigny intitulé «Guerre des Russes» qui aurait été imprimé par Mesplet à Londres, en 1773, mais nous avouons ne pas le connaitre autrement.

Exemplaires connus: Library of Congress, Washington; Bibliothèque de Montréal.

1774

A/Select Collection/of/Historical Tracts/and/Anecdotes/in/French and English/For the use of schools/.../London:/Printed by F. Mesplet (N° 24) Crown Court/Little Russell Street, Covent Garden./M. DCC, LXXIV.

——— Le Goût/de Bien de (*sic*) Gens/ou/Anecdotes,/Traits/d'Histoire, etc.,/en Anglois et en François./.../A Londres/De l'Imprimerie de Fleury Mesplet, Crown/Court, N° 24, Little Russell Street, Covent Garden/M. DCC. LXXIV. [2]

16¾×11 cm.

Faux titre, 1 p., au verso titre anglais; Titre français, 1 p., verso blanc; Anecdotes, pp. 1–191 (texte français et anglais).

Exemplaire connu: Bibliothèque Saint-Sulpice, Montréal.

Hildeburn, qui n'en a évidemment pas connu d'exemplaires, a inscrit cet ouvrage dans sa bibliographie (II, 221) sous le titre: «Les Gout. Anecdotes.» C'est le même ouvrage que R. W. McLachlan a enrégistré deux fois dans sa liste des publications de Mesplet trouvées à l'inventaire, la première fois (N° 33) sous le titre: «Les Gants, anecdotes,» et la seconde (N° 37) sous celui de: «Anecdotes anglaises et françaises.»

Lettre/Adressée/Aux Habitants/de la Province/de/Québec/ci-devant le Canada,/De la part du Congrès général de l'Amé/rique Septentrionale, tenu à Philadelphie./Imprimé et publié par ordre du Congrès,/A Philadelphie./De l'Imprimerie de Fleury Mesplet/M. DCC, LXXIV. [3]

21¼×14 cm.

Titre, verso blanc; pp. 1–18.

Exemplaires connus: Historical Society of Pennsylvania; Archives du Canada, Ottawa; Bibliothèque Saint-Sulpice, Montréal (2 ex.); McGill University Library, Montreal.

1775

Lettre/Adressée/Aux Habitants/Opprimés de la Province/de/Québec./De la part du Congrès Général de l'Amérique Sep./tentrionale, tenu à Philadelphie. [Philadelphie, Fleury Mesplet, 1775] [4]

7 pp. 8°, d'après Hildeburn: *Issues of the press in Pennsylvania, 1685–1784*, II, 225.
Exemplaire connu: Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

Règlement/Militaire/Concernant/la Police/et/la Discipline,/que doivent observer les Troupes qui sont ou seront/dans la suite levées et payées par les Treize/Colonies unies de l'Amérique Septentrionale./Traduit de l'Anglois par F. Daymon./A Philadelphie: Chez Fleury Mesplet & Ch. Berger/Imprimeurs & Libraires/M. DCC. LXXV. [5]

39 pp. 8°, d'après Hildeburn, II, 265.
Exemplaire connu: Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

La Ferme/de/Pennsylvanie./Les Avantages/de la Vertu./Plan d'Instruction pour le peuple, avec quelques observations sur la Liberté/du Commerce des Grains/.../A Philadelphie/et à Paris/chez Ribou, Libraire, Cloitre Saint-/Germain l'Auxerrois, attenant l'Eglise,/à la Nouveauté./M. DCC. LXXV. [6]

xii+96 pp. in 24.

Quoique cet ouvrage, mentionné par Hildeburn, ne porte pas de nom d'imprimeur, nous croyons pouvoir l'inscrire ici, car s'il a été imprimé à Philadelphie, il n'a pu l'être que par Fleury Mesplet que l'on s'accorde à dire le seul imprimeur français opérant à Philadelphie en 1774 et en 1775.

1776

L'Inoculation/du/Bon Sens/Par moi & pour l'homme en général/ .../[*Ornement typographique*]/A Philadelphie,/chez l'Imprimeur Ambulant./Avec l'approbation de la Société des Inoculés./M DCC. LXXVI. [7]

18½×11 cm.

Titre, verso blanc; pp. 1–47.

R. W. McLachlan (N° 3) a attribué à tort à cette publication la date en 1775. Plusieurs exemplaires en ont été trouvés dans le stock de Fleury Mesplet lors de l'inventaire de 1794 et c'est ce qui confirme la présomption que l'Imprimeur Ambulant de Philadelphie est bien le même que l'imprimeur montréalais.

L'ouvrage a pour auteur Nicolas Joseph Selis et a paru pour la première fois à Paris en 1761.

Exemplaire connu: Bibliothèque Saint-Sulpice, Montréal.

Aux/Habitants/de la Province du Canada/A Philadelphie/chez Fleury Mesplet & Charles Berger. [8]

24×31 cm. 1 p.

La lettre est datée à la fin: «A Philadelphie, le 24 janvier 1776» et signée: «John Hancock, President.»

Exemplaires connus: Historical Society of Pennsylvania; Bibliothèque Saint-Sulpice, Montréal.

Règlement/de la Confrérie/de l'Adoration perpétuelle/du/S. Sacrement/et de la Bonne Mort,/Erigée dans l'Eglise paroissiale de Vil-/le Marie, en l'Isle de Montréal,/en Canada. *s.l.s.d.* [9]

12½×8 cm.

Faux titre, portant au verso la formule d'admission; Règlement, pp. 1–40.

On a cru que ce petit livre qui ne porte ni lieu, ni date, ni nom d'imprimeur, mais qui n'est qu'une première édition du No. suivant, a été imprimé à Philadelphie, en 1775. Dionne (Inventaire chronologique, p. 13) l'a même cru imprimé en France. Nous avons dit les raisons pour lesquelles il n'a pu être imprimé qu'à Montréal, et en 1776.

Exemplaires connus: New York Public Library; Bibliothèque Saint-Sulpice, Montreal (2 ex.).

Règlement/de la Confrérie/de l'Adoration perpétuelle/du S. Sacrement/et/de la Bonne Mort/Erigée/dans l'Eglise Paroissiale de Vil-/le Marie, en l'Isle de Montréal, en Canada./Nouvelle édition revue, corrigée et augmentée./A Montréal: Chez F. Mesplet et C. Berger, Impri-/meurs et Libraires; près le Marché. 1776. [10]

12½×8 cm.

Titre, portant au verso la formule d'admission; Règlement, pp. 1–40.

C'est le même ouvrage que le précédent qui a été réimposé et auquel on a ajouté deux courtes prières.

Exemplaires connus: Bibliothèque Saint-Sulpice, Montréal, et au moins une trentaine d'autres.

Jonathas/et/David/ou/le Triomphe/de l'Amitié./Tragédie/en Trois Actes./Représentée par les écoliers de Montréal/[*Ornement typographique*]/A Montréal/chez Fleury Mesplet & C. Berger, Impri-/meurs & Libraires, 1776. [11]

18¾×11½ cm.

Titre, verso blanc; Prologue et sujet, 2 pp. n.c.; Jonathas, ... pp. 1–40.

Cette tragédie de collège a pour auteur le R. P. Pierre Brumoy, S.J. et se trouve dans le tome IV de son "Recueil de divers ouvrages en prose et en vers" publié à Paris en 1741.

Exemplaires connus: Bibliothèque de Montréal; Bibliothèque Saint-Sulpice, Montréal.

Cantiques/de l'Ame dévote/divisés en XII livres/où l'on représente d'une manière nette & facile/les principaux mystères de la Foi & les prin-/cipales vertus de la Religion chrétienne/accommodés à des airs vulgaires/Avec une augmentation notable:/Le tout mis dans un ordre particulier./Nouvelle édition imprimée sur celle/de Marseille, avec son ancienne appro-/bation./Première partie,/Par M. Laurens Durand, Prètre/du diocèse de Toulon/.../[*Ornement typographique*]/A Québec/chez Fleury Mesplet & Charles/Berger, Imprimeurs et Libraires, 1776. [12]

Titre, verso blanc; Epitres de l'Editeur, 4 pp. n.c. Table, 5 pp. n.c.; Avis au public, 1 p. n.c.; Texte, pp. 1–610.

Gagnon dans son *Essai de bibliographie canadienne* (II, 313) a fait erreur en datant cet ouvrage de 1775. Son propre exemplaire, qui est aujourd'hui à la Bibliothèque de Montréal, porte, comme tous les autres, la date de 1776. L'on sait que ce livre, quoi qu'en dise la page de titre, n'a pas été imprimé à Québec, mais à Montréal.

Exemplaires connus: Bibliothèque de Montréal; Bibliothèque Saint-Sulpice, Montréal (2 ex.) et cinq ou six autres.

1777

Almanach/Encyclopédique;/ou Chronologie/des faits les plus remarquables de/l'Histoire universelle, depuis Jé-/sus-Christ;/avec les Anecdotes curieuses, utiles/& intéressantes./Mil sept cent soixante-dix-sept/A Montréal/chez Fleury Mesplet et Char-/les Berger, Imprim. Libr./1777. [13]

11½×8 cm.

Titre, verso blanc; pp. 1–60.

Le premier almanach publié à Montréal et probablement le premier publié en français en Amérique. R. W. McLachlan n'en a connu que quatre années, mais il y en eut sept, la série n'ayant été interrompue, de 1777 à 1784, qu'une seule fois en 1780.

Exemplaire connu: Bibliothèque Saint-Sulpice, Montréal.

Officium/in honorem/Domini Nostri J. C./Summi Sacerdotis/et/omnium Sanctorum/Sacerdotum/ac Levitarum./[*Ornement typo-*

graphique] Monti-Regali;/apud Flurium Mesplet, Typographum & Bibliop./M. DCC LXXVII. [14]

17½×11½ cm.

Titre, verso blanc; Texte, pp. 1–11, verso blanc; Consecratio, 1 p. n.c., verso blanc.

McLachlan donne cet ouvrage comme le premier imprimé en latin en Canada. En 1776 Brown et Gilmore avaient déjà imprimé en latin pour le compte du Séminaire de Québec un programme de fin d'année.

Exemplaires connus: Bibliothèque de Montréal; Victor Morin; Université Laval, Québec; Bibliothèque Saint-Sulpice, Montréal, et quelques autres.

Catéchisme/à l'usage/du Diocèse de Québec./Imprimé par l'ordre de Monseigneur Jean/Olivier Briand, évêque de/Québec./Première partie,/Contenant/le Petit Catéchisme/ou Abrégé de la/Doctrine chrétienne./[*Ornement typographique*]/A Montréal;/chez Fleury Mesplet & Charles Berger/Imprimeurs et Libraires, 1777 [15]

17×10½ cm.

Titre, verso blanc; Avertissement, etc., 8 pp. n.c.; Petit catéchisme pp. 1–59, verso blanc; Grand catéchisme, pp. 61–207.

Quoique le titre n'indique qu'une première partie, l'ouvrage se compose en réalité de deux parties, le Petit et le Grand cathéchisme que Mesplet parait avoir vendus quelquefois séparément.

Exemplaires connus: Bibliothèque du Parlement, Ottawa; Bibliothèque Saint-Sulpice, Montréal.

Formulaire/de Prières,/à l'usage/des Pensionnaires des Religieuses Ursulines./Nouvelle édition./Revue, corrigée et augmentée de l'Office de la/Sainte Vierge, sans renvoi, & de Prières/pour offrir son intention en communiant les/Fêtes principales de l'année./[*Ornement typographique*]/A Montréal./Chez Fleury Mesplet & Charles/Berger, Imprimeurs & Libraires./M. DCC. LXXVII. [16]

16¾×9¾ cm.

Titre, verso blanc; Texte, pp. 1–467—Table, 5 pp. n.c.

Exemplaire connu: J. P. Edwards.

Exercice/très-dévot/envers/S. Antoine/de Padoue,/le Thaumaturge/de l'Ordre Séraphique/de S. François./Avec un petit recueil de quelques princi-/paux miracles./[*Ornement typographique*]/A Montréal, chez F. Mesplet & C. Berger,/Imprimeurs & Libraires. 1777. [17]

11¾×7½ cm.

Titre, verso blanc; Préface, 6 pp. n.c.; Exercice, pp. 1–88.

Reproduction d'un ouvrage d'un religieux franciscain, le Frère Alexis du Monceau, paru pour la première fois en 1692. La préface est signée: F.A.D.

Exemplaires connus: Cyrille Tessier, Québec; Bibliothèque Saint-Sulpice, Montréal (2 ex.).

Le petit/Livre de vie,/qui apprend/à bien vivre/et/bien prier Dieu./A l'usage du Diocèse de Québec/[*Vignette*]/A Montréal;/chez Fleury Mesplet & Char-/les Berger, Imprim. & Libr./M. DCC. LXXVII [18]

15½×9¼ cm.

Frontispice gravé; Titre, verso blanc; Calendriers, emblêmes, etc., 22 pp. n.c.; Texte, pp. 1–456; Table, 4 pp. n.c.

Le catalogue de la vente Hart (1890) prétend que le Pseautier imprimé par Mesplet en 1782 renferme les premières gravures sur bois exécutées en Canada. Cette distinction appartiendrait plutôt au Petit Livre de vie imprimé cinq ans plus tôt. Outre une gravure à pleine page du Christ en croix qui sert de frontispice, le Petit Livre renferme une douzaine de figures emblématiques dans le texte. Cependant il n'est aucunement prouvé que ces gravures sur bois ont été exécutées en Canada, quoiqu'elles soient d'une grande crudité d'exécution.

Exemplaire connu: Bibliothèque Saint Sulpice, Montréal.

Iontri8aiestak8a/Ionskaneks/N'aieienterihag gaiatonsera/te gari8-toraragon/Ong8e on8e Ga8ennontakon./[*Ornement typographique*]/ Teiotiagi [Montreal]/8esklet, Tsi Thonons8te, ok-/niore Tsi Iontke-rontak8a./1777 [19]

10×17¾ cm.

Titre, verso blanc; Texte, pp. 3–16.

Ce livre le premier imprimé en langue iroquoise, a été décrit par Pilling, Iroquoian Languages, p. 90.

Exemplaire connu: Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison.

1778

Almanach/curieux/et intéressant,/contenant la liste des Prêtres &/ Religieux desservants les Eglises/de Canada; la connaissance des/ Monnoies courantes, des Poids &/Mesures &c, Anecdotes, Fables,/ Curiosités naturelles, &c./Mil sept cent soixante dix-huit./A Montréal;/chez Fleury Mesplet et Char/les Berger, Imprim. Libr./1778. [20]

11½×8 cm.

Titre, verso blanc; Texte, pp. 1–60; Annonce de livres à vendre, 1 p. n.c.

Exemplaires connus: Université Laval, Québec; Bibliothèque de Montréal; Bibliothèque Saint-Sulpice, Montréal.

Calendrier/pour Montréal ... pour l'année 1778. [21]

52×38 cm. 1 feuille.

Ce calendrier est le premier que nous ayons vu. Il en a du exister un aussi pour 1777. On le désignait pour les besoins de la vente sous le nom d'almanach en feuille, (sheet almanack) par opposition à l'almanach de poche qui était l'Almanach curieux et intéressant.

Exemplaire connu: Bibliothèque Saint-Sulpice, Montréal.

L'Office/de la/Semaine/Sainte,/selon le Missel/& Bréviaire romain;/avec l'explication des Sacrés Mystères représentés/par les cérémonies de cet Office. L'Ordinaire de/la Messe, les Sept Pseaumes de la Pénitence, les/Litanies des Saints, & les Prières pour la Con-/fession et Communion, tirés de l'Ecriture Sainte./Imprimée sur la meilleure Edition de Paris/[*Ornement typographique*]/A Montréal,/chez Fleury Mesplet & Charles/Berger, Imprimeurs & Libraires/M. DCC. LXXVIII. [22]

16½×10 cm.

Titre, verso blanc; Texte, pp. 1–420.

Ce fut le dernier livre imprimé avec la firme de Mesplet et Berger. D'après une annonce parue dans l'Almanach de 1778, il a du paraitre en février de cette année. Il comprend 420 pages et non 410 comme le dit R. W. McLachlan, probablement par suite d'une erreur typographique.

Exemplaires connus: McGill University library; Victor Morin; Frère Cyprien; Bibliothèque Saint-Sulpice, Montréal, (2 ex.).

Livre/pour apprendre/à bien lire en françois/et pour apprendre/en même temps/les principes/de la langue/& de l'orthographe./Il pourra être utile aux personnes avancées qui/voudront s'assurer qu'elles parlent et écrivent/correctement/.On ne peut lire ni écrire correctement si l'on ne/sçait conjuguer les Verbes./A Montréal/chez Fleury Mesplet, Imprimeur & Libraire/près le Marché, 1778. [23]

9×11½ cm.

Titre, verso blanc; Texte, pp. 1–92.

Le seul exemplaire connu appartenait il y a quelques années à M. P. N. Breton qui nous dit, dans le temps, l'avoir vendu à la Bibliothèque des Archives du Canada à Ottawa. Nous ne le retrouvons cependant pas dans le catalogue de cette bibliothèque. L'exemplaire en question était incomplet des pages 13 et 14, et de la dernière, page 92.

Neuvaine/à l'honneur/de/Saint François/Xavier/de la Compagnie /de Jésus,/Apôtre des Indes & du Japon/[*Vignette*]/A Montréal,/chez Fleury Mesplet, Imprimeur &/Libraires, près le Marché, 1778. [24]

14×8½ cm.

Titre, verso blanc; Texte, pp. 1–147.

Exemplaires connus: McGill University Library; Séminaire de Nicolet; Victor Morin; Frère Cyprien; Bibliothèque Saint-Sulpice, Montreal (2 ex.).

Journal/du/Voyage/de M. Saint Luc/de la Corne, ecuyer,/Dans le navire l'Auguste, en l'an 1761./[*Ornement typographique*]/A Montreal; chez Fleury Mesplet, Imprimeur &/Libraire/M. DCC LXXVIII. [25]

17×10¼ cm.

Titre, verso blanc; Texte, pp. 1–38.

Exemplaires connus: Université Laval, Québec; Bibliothèque de Montréal; Bibliothèque Saint-Sulpice (2 ex.).

A l'un des deux exemplaires de Saint-Sulpice et à celui de l'Université Laval on a ajouté deux pages du même format qui n'appartiennent pas en propre à l'ouvrage puisqu'elles y sont collées, mais qui ont été évidemment imprimées par Fleury Mesplet, vers le même temps. Ces deux pages reproduisent une lettre adressée de New York à M. de Saint-Luc de La Corne, le 28 mars 1762 et signée: Jeff. Amherst.

Abrégé/des règles/de la/Versification/française/par Mr Restaut, avocat au Parlement, & ap-/prouvé de l'Académie des Sciences à Paris./[*Ornement typographique*]/A Montréal;/chez Fleury Mesplet, Imprimeur &/Libraire./M. DCC. LXXVIII. [26]

17×11½ cm.

Titre, verso blanc; Texte, pp. 1–80.

Exemplaires connus: Université Laval, Québec; Bibliothèque Saint-Sulpice, Montréal.

Province de/Québec./District de/Montréal./Cour/des Plaidoyers Communs./Brook Watson & Robert Rasleigh, négociants de Londres, /stipulant pour eux Pierre Panet, Ecuyer, fondé de leur Procu-/ration, Demandeurs;/contre Pierre Du Calvet, de Montréal, Ecuyer, Défendeur./Défenses./Fait.

[*A la fin:*] Chez Fleury Mesplet, Imprimeur & Libraire, près le Marché. [27]

24¼×19 cm. Pp. 1–4.

Ce factum est signé Pierre Du Calvet et daté: Montréal, le 24 septembre 1778.

Exemplaires connus: Cyrille Tessier, Québec; Bibliothèque de Montréal.

District de/Montreal./Province de Quebec/.Cour/des Plaidoyers Communs/Brook Watson & Robert Rashleigh, Défendeur;/contre Pierre Du Calvet, Ecuyer, Défendeur/.Dupliques.

[*A la fin:*] A Montréal, chez Fleury Mesplet, Imprimeur & Libraire, *s.d.* [28]

24¼×19 cm. Pp. 1–12.

Cet autre factum porte également à la fin la signature imprimée: Pierre Du Calvet, mais il n'est pas daté. L'unique exemplaire que nous connaissons porte cependant en manuscrit, de la main même de Du Calvet,:A Montréal, le 22 8bre 1778. A noter la singulière erreur de l'imprimeur qui a fait du poursuivant et du poursuivi deux défendeurs. Au lieu de "Défendeur" après Rashleigh, il faudrait: Demandeur.

Exemplaire connu: Bibliothèque de Montréal.

Gazette du Commerce/et littéraire/Pour la ville & District de Montréal.

[*A la fin:*] Montréal chez F. Mesplet et C. Berger Imprimeurs & Libraires. [29]

23×18¾ cm.

Ce premier journal de Montréal paraissait chaque semaine, le jeudi, par livraisons de

4 pages. Il commença à paraitre le 3 juin 1778. Une première suspension d'une semaine se produisit après le numéro du 19 août 1778. Le 2 septembre suivant, la Gazette réapparait sous le nom seul de Fleury Mesplet, et avec un titre nouveau:

Gazette/Littéraire/pour la Ville & District de Montréal.

La première année finit avec le No. XXXI (30 décembre 1778) et comprend 118 pages. A quatre pages par livraison elle en devrait avoir 124, mais le No. XII (19 août) qui annonce la suspension n'a qu'une page avec verso blanc, et les Nos. XIII et XIV qui suivent ont été fondus ensemble, ne formant à eux deux que 4 pages.

La deuxième année (1779) comprend les Nos I à XXII, paginés de 1 à 92. Le dernier numéro est du 2 juin 1779, jour de la suppression de la Gazette et de l'emprisonnement de son éditeur.

Exemplaires connus: McGill University Library; Université Laval, de Québec; Bibliothèque Saint-Sulpice, Montréal.

1779

Almanach/Curieux/et intéressant;/contenant l'idée des Etats, Royau-/mes & Républiques de l'Europe/avec les naissances des Princes &/Princesses; la liste des Prêtres/& Religieux desservants les Egli-/ses de Canada; la Connaissance des/Monnoies courantes, & la distance/marquée d'une Poste à un autre,/depuis Québec jusqu'à Montréal./Mil sept cent soixante dix-neuf./A Montréal./Chez Fleury Mesplet, Impri-/meur et Libraire./M DCC. LXXIX [30]

$11\frac{1}{2}\times 8$ cm.

Titre, verso blanc; pp. 1–62.

Exemplaires connus: Université Laval de Québec; Bibliothèque Saint-Sulpice, Montréal.

Calendrier/pour Montréal pour l'année 1779 [31]

52×38 cm. 1 feuille.

Exemplaire connu: Bibliothèque Saint-Sulpice, Montréal.

Réponse aux Dupliques de Pierre Du Calvet, Ecuyer, par Pierre Panet, procureur fondé de Watson & Rashleigh. [32]

Aucun exemplaire de cet imprimé n'a été jusqu'ici retrouvé, mais il a incontestablement existé. Dans la publication qui suit (N° 34) il est dit (p. 5): "Dans le même temps que Me Sanguinet, pour le procureur fondé, faisait cette motion, il avait en liasse plusieurs exemplaires d'un libelle imprimé, composé par Me Panet et dont le Sieur Du Calvet avait dans le même moment dans sa poche une copie."

L'on voit ailleurs que l'écrit s'intitulait: Réponse aux Dupliques de Pierre Du Calvet.

Mémoire/en réponse à l'écrit public,/de Me Panet, fondé de Procuration de Watson/& Rashleigh de Londres, Demandeurs./contre/

Pierre Du Calvet, de Montréal, Ecuyer, Défendeur./Stupete Gentes. [*A la fin*] A Montréal, chez Fleury Mesplet, Imprimeur & Libraire. [33]

24¼×19 cm. Pp. 1–25.

Ce mémoire, écrit en réponse au factum précédent, est signé à la fin: Pierre Du Calvet, et daté: Montréal, le 11 janvier 1779.

Exemplaires connus: Cyrille Tessier, Québec; et Bibliothèque de Montréal.

District de Montréal—Province de Québec—Cour des Plaidoyers communs. Les Dames Religieuses Ursulines des Trois-Rivières, Demanderesses, contre François Lemaitre Duème, Défendeur.—Duplique. [34]

Le cas de cette publication est semblable à celui du Mémoire Panet (N° 32) Aucun exemplaire n'en est connu mais son existence est établie par la publication qui suit (N° 35) et qui est connue. Dans sa réponse au Mémoire de Mézière, procureur des Ursulines, Lemaitre Duème dit expressément qu'en réplique à ses défenses les Religieuses ayant fourni en cour une réplique, il a lui-même répondu par une duplique imprimée, mais que, communication de cette Duplique ayant été donnée à l'avocat de ces Dames, celui-ci consentit à retirer sa réplique pourvu que la duplique imprimée ne parut pas. Lemaitre Duème a du maintenir sa duplique, car il reproche précisément à Mézière dans l'écrit suivant d'avoir manqué à sa parole en produisant en cour un Mémoire qui disait lui-même être une addition à ses répliques retirées. Mézière lui-même, dans cette addition qui est reproduite à l'écrit suivant et qui y est par conséquent antérieure, parle d'une défense imprimée de Lemaitre Duème et l'attribue à la vanité du défendeur.

District de/Montreal/Province de Québec/Cour/des Plaidoyers Communs/

[*D'un coté*] Les Dames Religieuses/Ursulines des Trois-Rivières/ Demanderesses,/Contre/François-Lemaitre Duème/Défendeur./Moyens subsidiaires employés par les/Demanderesses devant les Honorables Juges/de la Cour, pour servir d'addition aux Ré-/pliques à défense précédemment fournis.

[*De l'autre coté:*] Réponse/de François-Lemaitre Duème/à l'écrit diffamatoire fourni par Mr Mézière, avocat des Dames/Religieuses des Trois-Rivières.

[*A la fin:*] A Montréal, chez Fleury Mesplet, Imprimeur & Libraire. [35]

25½×19¼ cm. Pp. 1–20.

Dans ce mémoire dont chaque page, moins la dernière, est imprimée sur deux colonnes, Lemaitre publie d'abord sur une colonne l'Addition aux répliques signée Mézière dont il est question à l'article précédent et sur la colonne de face, en opposition, sa propre Réponse, signée Fr. Lemaitre Duème et datée: Montréal le 15 avril 1779.

Dans la Gazette littéraire du 14 avril 1779, se lisait cette annonce: "A vendre chez

l'Imprimeur, vendredi, le 16 du courant, Mémoire signé Pierre Mézière comme avocat des Dames Religieuses Ursulines des Trois-Rivières et la Réponse de François-Lemaitre Duème. Ces ouvrages serviront à faire distinguer le bon du mauvais. "C'est sans doute cette annonce qui a trompé R. W. McLachlan et qui l'a fait inscrire, dans sa liste des publications inventoriées de Mesplet, le Mémoire de Mézière et la Réponse de Duème comme deux ouvrages imprimés séparément.

Exemplaire connu: Bibliothèque Saint-Sulpice, Montréal.

1781

Almanach/curieux/et intéressant/pour l'année/mil sept cent quatre-vingt-un/[*Ornement typographique*]/A Montréal,/Chez Fleury Mesplet, Impri-/meur & Libraire./M. DCC. LXXXI. [36]

12×8 cm.

Titre, verso blanc; pp. 1–48.

Exemplaire connu: Bibliothèque Saint-Sulpice, Montréal.

A/Primer/for the/use of the Mohawk children,/to acquire the Spelling and Reading/of their own: As well as to got ac/quainted with the English Tongue,/which for that purpose is put on the/opposite Page.

Waerighwaghsawe Iksa/Ongoenwa Tsiwaondad—derigh-/honny Kaghyadoghsera; Nayondewe—/yestaghk Ayeweanaghnodon ayeghya—/dow Kaniyenkehaga Kaweanondagh—/kough; Dyorheaf Oni tsinihadiwea—Norea.—/—Montreal, Printed at Fleury Mesplets/1781. [37]

In-24; Titre, verso blanc; Texte, pp. 2–97.

Le recto de la page qui suit celle numérotée 18 est blanc, et le verso est numéroté 19. A partir de là les rectos sont pairs et les versos impairs.

Ce livre a été imprimé sous la surveillance du colonel Claus sur les presses de Mesplet pendant sa détention. Pilling (*Iroquoian languages*, pp. 137–38) a donné une description détaillée de l'ouvrage et un facsimilé du titre. Cf. aussi R. W. McLachlan: The First Mohawk Primer, dans le Canadian Antiquarian and Numismatic Journal, d'avril 1908.

Exemplaires connus: British Museum, Londres; New York Public Library; Henry E. Huntington Library.

1782

Almanach/curieux/et intéressant/pour l'année/mil sept cent quatre-vingt-deux/.[*Ornement typographique*]/A Montréal/chez Fleury Mesplet, Impri-/meur & Libraire./M. DCC. LXXXII. [38]

12×8 cm.

Titre, verso blanc; pp. 1–48.

Exemplaire connu: Bibliothèque Saint-Sulpice, Montréal.

Pseautier/de David/Avec/les Cantiques/à l'usage des Ecoles./ [*Ornement typographique*]/.A Montréal,/ chez Fleury Mesplet, Imprimeur/& Libraire/M. DCC. LXXXII [39]

11¾×8½ cm.

Titre, verso blanc; Prières, pp. iii–xvi; Pseautier, pp. 1–304.

C'est le petit livre que le catalogue de la vente Hart (Boston, avril 1890) affirme à tort contenir les premières gravures sur bois exécutées en Canada. (Voir No. 18.)

Exemplaire connu: Bibliothèque Saint-Sulpice, Montréal.

Calendrier/pour Montréal qui est par les 71 degrés 49 m. 45″ de Longitude ouest, méridien de Londres & 45 degrés 30 m. de Latitude septentrionale, pour l'année 1782/

[*A la fin*] A Montréal, chez Fleury Mesplet, Imprimeur Libraire où se trouve l'Almanach de poche, 1782. [40]

52×38½ cm. 1 feuille.

Exemplaire connu: Bibliothèque Saint-Sulpice, Montréal.

1783

Almanach/curieux/et intéressant/pour l'année/mil sept cent quatre-vingt-trois/[*Ornement typographique*]/A Montréal/Chez Fleury Mesplet, Impri-/meur & Libraire./M. DCC. LXXXIII. [41]

11¾×7½ cm.

Titre, verso blanc; pp. 1–48.

Exemplaire connu: Bibliothèque Saint-Sulpice, Montréal.

Calendrier perpétuel calculé suivant la correction grégorienne ou Nouveau style. Qui indique le lever &/coucher du soleil, pour Québec & Montréal, les Lunaisons, Fêtes mobiles, etc./

[*A la fin*] A Montréal, chez Fleury Mesplet, 1783. [42]

70×36 cm. 1 feuille.

Exemplaire connu: Bibliothèque Saint-Sulpice, Montréal.

Calendrier/pour Montréal ... pour l'année 1783.

[*A la fin*] A Montréal, chez Fleury Mesplet ... 1783. [43]

51×38½ cm. 1 feuille.

R. W. McLachlan a cru que les calendriers en feuille ou "sheet almanacks" n'avaient commencé qu'après la publication du dernier almanach de poche, c'est-à-dire après 1784. Nous avons déjà vu qu'il y en eut de publiés en 1778 et en 1779. Il y en eut probablement aussi pour l'année 1777 et pour toutes les autres, à l'exception possible de 1780, où l'Almanach curieux ne fut pas publié. Toutefois nous ne mentionnons ici que ceux dont l'existence a été constatée.

Exemplaire connu: Bibliothèque Saint-Sulpice, Montréal.

Copies/authentiques/des articles/préliminaires/de la Paix/entre/ S. M. Britannique/S. M. Très Chrétienne/S. M. Très Catholique/et/ les Etats-Unis/de l'Amérique/Signés à Versailles le 20 janvier 1783/. A Montréal/chez Fleury Mesplet, M. DCC. LXXXIII [44]

17×10½ cm.

Titre, verso blanc. Pp. 3–25.

Exemplaires connus: Bibliothèque Saint-Sulpice, Montréal (2 ex.).

To the Honorable The President and Members of Congress/of the United States/The Memorial of Fleury Mesplet, of Montreal, in the Province of Quebec/Montreal, août 1783. ———A l'Honorable Président & Respectables Membres du/Congrès des Etats-Unis de l'Amérique,/Représentation du Sr Fleury Mesplet actuellement à/Montréal dans la Province de Québec, en Canada. [45]

24¾×30½ cm. 1 feuille imprimée sur 2 colonnes (texte anglais et français).

Exemplaire connu: Library of Congress, Washington. La Bibliothèque Saint-Sulpice, Montréal, n'en possède qu'une copie photostatique.

La Dévotion/aux/S. S. Anges/Gardiens./[*Vignette*]./A Montréal,/ chez Fleury Mesplet, Impri-/meur & Libraire 1783. [46]

10½×7¾ cm.

Titre, verso blanc; Avis au lecteur 5 pp. n.c.; Texte, pp. 9–77; Annonce de livres, 1 p. n.c.

Exemplaire connu: Bibliothèque Saint-Sulpice, Montréal.

1784

Almanach/curieux/et intéressant/Pour l'année/mil sept cent quatre-vingt-quatre./A Montréal./chez Fleury Mesplet, Imprimeur & Libraire,/M. DCC. LXXXIV. [47]

11¾×8 cm.

Titre, verso blanc; pp. 1–58.

Cet almanach est généralement accepté comme le dernier de la série Mesplet. Est-ce vraiment le dernier? La Gazette de Montréal dans son numéro du 15 décembre 1785 annonce un Almanach pour 1786; mais personne n'en a encore découvert d'exemplaire.

Exemplaires connus: Université Laval de Québec (incomplet); Bibliothèque Saint-Sulpice, Montréal.

Calendrier/pour Montréal ... pour l'année 1784. [48]

51¼×40 cm. 1 feuille.

Ce calendrier pour Montréal est le seul que nous connaissions jusqu'à cette date où n'apparaisse pas au moins à la fin le nom de l'imprimeur, mais il sort incontestablement des presses de Mesplet.

Exemplaire connu: Bibliothèque Saint-Sulpice, Montréal.

L'Ecu/de Six Francs/.[*Vignette*]/A Paris/& Réimprimé à Montréal/chez Fleury Mesplet, Imprimeur/& Libraire/1784. [49]

14×8¾ cm.

Titre, verso blanc; pp. 3–35.

Exemplaires connus: Bibliothèque de Montréal; Bibliothèque Saint-Sulpice, Montréal.

Paris/en/miniature/D'après les Dessins/d'un nouvel Argus. [*Vignette*]/A Londres et se trouve à Paris,/chez Richard, Libraire, Quai & près des Théatres./M. DCC. LXXXIV.

[*A la fin:*] Réimprimé à Montréal,/le 24 août 1784/chez Fleury Mesplet, Imprimeur-Libr. [50]

In-12; pp. 1–104.

Exemplaire connu: Université Laval de Québec (Collection Verreau).

A mes Compatriotes/Canadiens,/Qui se sont trouvés à l'Assemblée convoquée dans le Couvent/des RR. PP. Récolets, le 20 du mois de novembre/dernier, et autres. *S.l., s.d. ni titre particulier.* [51]

22¾×18 cm; 4 pp. n.c.

Ce pamphlet qui est signé: De Bonne, ne porte aucune mention de l'imprimeur. Mesplet y signe lui-même, à la fin, une déclaration datée du 7 décembre 1784, mais cette déclaration n'est faite que pour attester la vérité de certains faits.

Exemplaire connu: Bibliothèque Saint-Sulpice, Montréal.

Au Public/Défenses de Mr de St Ours, adressées au/comité opposé à la Chambre d'Assemblée, tenue chez/les R.R.PP. Récolets, le 30 novembre 1784. [52]

22×17 cm. Pp. 1–4.

Ces quatre pages qui sont signées à la fin: Charles de Saint-Ours ... le Jeune, ne portent pas davantage mention d'imprimeur, mais elles ont trait comme l'écrit précédent à une assemblée à Montréal, sont imprimées avec des caractères absolument semblables et ne peuvent être attribuées qu'à Mesplet.

Exemplaire connu: Bibliothèque Saint-Sulpice, Montréal.

Objections aux Demandes faites à Notre Auguste Souverain; Par l'adresse lue dans une Assemblée tenue chez les RR.PP. Récolets, le 30 novembre, 1784. [53]

A la fin d'une copie de ces objections qui fut transmise par Dorchester à Sydney le 10 janvier, 1789, et dont le texte a été reproduit par MM. Adam Short et A. G. Doughty dans les "Documents concernant l'histoire constitutionnelle du Canada, 1759–1791" (pp. 491–494) on lit le certificat suivant de Fleury Mesplet:

"Je certifie que dans le courant du mois de décembre de l'année 1784 j'ai imprimé aux environs de deux cens exemplaires des Objections ci-dessous & environ le même nombre d'une adresse à Sa Majesté, en opposition à la chambre d'Assemblée (dans le même espace de temps). Montréal, 20 ×bre, 1788.

fl. Mesplet,
imprimeur

Exemplaire connu: Aucun.

La Très Humble adresse des Citoyens et Habitans catholiques Romains de différens Etats dans la province de Québec, en Canada. Au Roi. [54]

Cette adresse a également été imprimée par Fleury Mesplet, en novembre 1784, ainsi que l'atteste le certificat reproduit plus haut et qui a été annexée à la copie des Objections (N° 53).

Exemplaire connu: Aucun.

1785

The Montreal Gazette ——— Gazette de Montréal

[55]

36¼×22½ cm. Livraisons de 4 pages imprimés sur 2 colonnes.

Deuxième entreprise journalistique de Fleury Mesplet. Dans sa monographie sur l'imprimeur montréalais (p. 217) R. W. McLachlan dit que le nouveau journal commença à paraitre le 28 août 1785, mais dans sa Bibliographie (p. 229) il donne la date exacte du premier numéro: 25 août 1785. La feuille paraissait le jeudi de chaque semaine. Pour raison de saisie, le 14e numéro de la première année (24 nov. 1785) ne fut pas publié. Comme No 14, Mesplet ne fit paraitre qu'une feuille contenant une courte apologie aux souscripteurs.

Attendu que l'on ne connait pas de collection absolument complète, il est difficile d'affirmer qu'il n'y a pas eu par la suite d'autre suspension. Tout semble indiquer cependant que la *Gazette* a paru régulièrement jusqu'aux derniers moments de l'existence de son propriétaire. Mesplet est mort à Montréal le 24 janvier 1794. Le dernier numéro que nous connaissons portant son nom est celui du 16 janvier 1794. Nous croyons qu'il y eut suspension jusqu'au 6 février, alors que la veuve, Marie-Anne Tison, reprit la publication pour deux semaines.

En 1795 la *Gazette de Montréal* passa aux mains d'Edward Edwards, son nouvel acquéreur, et, pendant quelque temps, elle fut publiée concurremment avec une autre Gazette du même titre et du même format dont le propriétaire était Louis Roy, ancien imprimeur du roi dans le Haut-Canada. La Gazette d'Edwards, finalement restée maitresse du terrain, est la même qui se publie encore aujourd'hui à Montréal sous le nom de *Montréal Gazette*.

Exemplaires connus: La Bibliothèque de l'Université Laval, à Québec; celles de l'Université McGill et de Saint-Sulpice à Montréal possèdent plusieurs volumes de la *Gazette de Montréal*, mais à peu près tous d'une composition irrégulière. La collection la plus avancée est celle que conserve la Bibliothèque publique de Toronto. De la *Gazette* publiée par Mesplet même elle possède tout ce qui a paru en 1785, 10 numéros de 1786, du 5 janvier au 9 mars, l'année 1787 complète, l'année 1788 moins trois numéros; ceux des 22 mai et des 13 et 20 novembre; les années 1789, 1790, et 1791 en entier, l'année 1792, moins les numéros des 5 et 12 janvier, des 17 et 31 mai et du 21 juin, et enfin tout ce qui a paru en 1793 jusqu'à la mort de Mesplet.

1786

A/Sermon/Preached at the opening/of/Christ's Church at Sorel/in the Province of Quebec/on Sunday the 25th of December 1785:/By/

The Reverend John Doty, a Presbyter of the Church of/England; and Missionary from the Incorporated Society for/the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts./Hitherto hath the Lord helped us. I Sam. 7–12./When I came to Troas to preach Christ's Gospel, a door was/opened into me of the Lord. 2 Cor. 2–12./Montreal;/Printed by Fleury Mesplet. M. DCC. LXXXVI. [56]

12¾×21 cm. Pp. 1–12.

Exemplaire connu: Ecole Normale, Montreal.

Remarks/on/the Distemper/generally known by the name of the Molbay Disease/including a Description of its Symptoms and Method of/Care chiefly intended for the use/of the clerical and other Gentlemen residing in the/Country/By/Robert Jones, Surgeon/Montreal./Printed by Fleury Mesplet. M. DCC. LXXXVI. [57]

12¾×20¼ cm.

Titre, verso blanc; Dédicace, 1 p. n.c.; Errata 1 p. n.c.; "Advertisement," 2 pp. n.c.; Texte, pp. 1–19.

Exemplaire connu: Archives du Canada, Ottawa.

Sermon/funèbre/prononcé à l'occasion de la mort de/Mr Benjamin Frobisher.

[*A la fin:*] A Montreal/chez Fleury Mesplet, Imprimeur, 1787. [58]

19½×12½ cm.

Texte, verso blanc; Lettre du Rev. Delisle à Jos. Frobisher, 2 pp. n.c.; Sermon, pp. 1–15.

Ce sermon fut prononcé par le Rev. Chabrand Delisle, ministre français de l'Eglise anglicane à Montréal.

Exemplaires connus: Université Laval, Québec; Bibliothèque Saint-Sulpice, Montreal (3 ex.).

Remarques/sur/la maladie contagieuse/de/la Baie Saint-Paul,/avec la description de ses symptomes & la méthode/d'en faire la cure:/A l'usage du clergé & autres messieurs résidants/à la campagne./Par Robert Jones, chirurgien./[*Epigraphe*]/A Montreal/chez Fleury Mesplet, Imprimeur-Libraire, 1787. [59]

18½×12½ cm.

Titre, verso blanc; Dédicace, 1 p. n.c., verso blanc; Lettre du traducteur à l'auteur, 1 p. n.c., verso blanc; Avertissement, 2 pp. n.c.; Description ... , pp. 9–22; Liste des souscripteurs, 2 pp. n.c.

Traduction de l'ouvrage du Dr. Robert Jones plus haut décrit, No. 57.

Exemplaires connus: Bibliothèque du Parlement, Quebec; Bibliothèque Saint-Sulpice, Montréal.

The/Manual/Exercise/With/Explanations, as ordered by/His Majesty./The second edition/.Montreal/Printed by Fleury Mesplet, M. DCC. LXXXVII [60]

17½×11½ cm.

Titre, verso blanc; Texte, pp. 3–32.

Exemplaire connu: Bibliothèque Saint-Sulpice, Montréal.

La Solide/Dévotion/a la/Très Sainte-/Famille/de Jésus, Marie & Joseph./A Montreal:/chez Fleury Mesplet, Imprimeur & Libraire/ M. DCC LXXXVII./Avec Approbation & Permission. [61]

14¾×9½ cm.

Titre, verso blanc; Texte, pp. 3–56.

Exemplaire connu: Bibliothèque Saint-Sulpice, Montréal.

1789

Calendrier del'année 1789 pour Montréal.

[*A la fin:*] A Montreal, chez Fleury Mesplet. [62]

38½×30½ cm. 1 feuille.

Exemplaire connu: Bibliothèque Saint-Sulpice, Montréal.

Le/Juge à Paix/et/Officier de Paroisse,/pour la Province de Québec/Extrait de Richard Burn, Chancellier/du Diocèse de Carlisle, & un des Juges à Paix/de Sa Majesté, pour les comtés de Westmoreland /& Cumberland./Traduit par Jos. F. Perrault./A Montréal/Chez Fleury Mesplet, Imprimeur, rue Notre-Dame/près les RR.P.P. Récollets/M. DCC. L XXXIX. [63]

22×14½ cm.

Titre, verso blanc; Dédicace, 2 pp. n.c.; Avant-propos et Introduction, pp. v–xxi; Des Juges à paix, pp. 22–561; Table, 14 pp. n.c.; Errata, 1 p. n.c.

Publié d'abord par livraisons mensuelles de 32 pages sous le titre de "Traduction de Burn's Justice." Quoiqu'il porte la date de 1789, l'ouvrage n'était pas encore terminé à la fin de l'année 1790.

Exemplaires connus: University McGill Library; Victor Morin; Bibliothèque de Montréal; Bibliothèque Saint-Sulpice, Montréal et plusieurs autres.

1790

Mémoire/abrégé/ou Exposition Justificative du cas de Jean-Baptiste/Lebrun, de la paroisse de St-Sulpice, dans le/District de Montréal.

[*A la fin:*] A Montréal/chez Fleury Mesplet, Imprimeur/1790. [64]

16 pp. in 8°.

L'auteur, J. B. Lebrun Duplessis, un des premiers avocats admis à pratiquer après la cession du Canada, fut le grand-père de l'historien Ferland. Accusé d'abus de confiance, il tente d'établir dans cette brochure qu'une conspiration a été montée contre lui.

Exemplaire connu: Archives du Canada, Ottawa.

Philéas Gagnon, dans des notes manuscrites sur les incunables canadiens, décrit un exemplaire qui aurait appartenu à l'abbé H. A. Verreau et avec lequel se trouvait reliée une autre plaquette sans lieu ni date et intitulée: "For Public information." D'après lui, cette plaquette qui est datée à la fin: Montreal, 4th sept. 1790, aurait été imprimée dans le même temps par Fleury Mesplet.

1791

Mémoire/en Cassation/du Testament/de Mr Simon Sanguinet, écuyer, Seigneur de/la Salle &c./Précédé du Testament.

[*A la fin:*] Chez Fleury Mesplet, Imprimeur & Libraire, rue Notre-Dame, No. 44. [65]

14½×14½ cm.

Titre, verso blanc; Mémoire ... , pp. 3–19.

Dans la clause 10 de son testament M. Sanguinet donnait sa seigneurie de la Salle à l'Université qui devait s'établir dans le Bas-Canada pour l'éducation de la jeunesse. La validité du legs fut contestée par les héritiers.

Ce mémoire qui est daté: Montréal, le 10 janvier 1791 a pour auteur Joseph-Francois Perrault qui s'intitule lui-même: "Praticien des rives du Mississippi."

Exemplaire connu: Cyrille Tessier, Quebec.

La/Bastille/Septentrionale,/ou/les Trois sujets/Britanniques opprimés./Quod nequeo monstrare & sentio tantum./Prix 40 sous/. [*Vignette*]/Se vend/à Montréal/chez Fleury Mesplet, Imprimeur;/a Québec, chez Mr. Bouthillier, au/Bureau de la Poste/Aux Trois-Rivières, chez M. Mellish; à Varennes, chez Mr/Alexis Lahaye; à Berthier, chez Mr L. Labadie;/à l'Assomption, chez Mr. Faribault, notaire. [66]

19×13¼ cm.

Titre, verso blanc; Préface, 2 pp. n.c.; Texte, pp. 5–32.

Protestation contre l'emprisonnement de trois jeunes miliciens anglais des Trois-Rivières, nommés Jonathan et Joseph Sills, et Malcolm Fraser qui avaient refusé de se rendre aux exercices militaires parce que leur commandant était un Canadien-français. Les coupables furent conduits devant la Cour martiale, mais relâchés après une couple de semaines par le Juge en chef. Il est étrange que ces individus qui ne voulaient pas de commandant canadien-français aient choisi de protester dans la langue française. L'évènement arriva en 1790 mais la cause elle-même ne fut plaidée qu'en mai 1791. C'est évidemment en cette dernière année qu'il faut placer l'impression de l'ouvrage.

Exemplaires connus: Bibliothèque Saint-Sulpice, Montréal; Cyrille Tessier, Québec; Bibliothèque du Parlement, Québec; Charles Gordonsmith, Montreal.

1792

Proclamation divisant la Province de Haut-Canada par comtés et fixant les bornes ou limites d'iceux.

[*A la fin:*] Montréal, imprimé par Fleury Mesplet. 1 feuille in-folio, imprimée sur deux colonnes. [67]

Cette Proclamation est signée à fin J. G. S. (John Graves Simcoe) et datée de Kingston le 16 juillet 1792. A ce moment le lieutenant-gouverneur Simcoe avait déjà engagé les services de Louis Roy comme imprimeur du roi pour le Haut Canada, mais ce dernier, qui attendait sa presse et ses caractères, ne fut en état d'imprimer à Newark qu'au commencement de l'année suivante. Force fut à Simcoe de recourir pour l'impression de sa première proclamation à un imprimeur, soit de Montréal soit de Québec. Il choisit Mesplet. Mais il n'est question ici que de la version française. C'est une question de savoir si Mesplet a aussi imprimé la version anglaise.

Exemplaire connu: Nous ne connaissons cette publication que par la description qu'en donne feu Phileas Gagnon dans ses notes manuscrites d'après un exemplaire qu'il ne localise pas mais qui se trouve probablement à l'Université Laval de Québec.

1793

By His Majesty's Command./Adjutant General's Office,/June 1st, 1792./Rules and Regulations/for the formations, field-exercise,/and Movements/of/His Majesty's forces./Montreal/Printed by Fleury Mesplet, Notre-Dame/Street, No. 40, 1793. [68]

19×12 cm.

Faux-titre, verso blanc; Titre, verso blanc; Introduction, pp. v–xx; Texte, pp. 1–54; Annonce, 1 p. n.c.

Exemplaire connu: Bibliothèque Saint-Sulpice, Montréal.

SANS DATE

Prières/de la/Congrégation ... *s.l.s.d. sans nom d'imprimeur, ni titre particulier.* [69]

12×18¾ cm. Pp. 1–16.

Cette plaquette, qui ne porte aucun nom d'imprimeur a certainement été imprimée à Montréal, car elle a été préparée pour la paroisse de Montréal ainsi qu'il appert à l'imprimé même où il y a, page 15, une prière spéciale ainsi intitulée: "Election de Saint Joseph pour prefet perpétuel de la Congrégation faite à Ville-Marie en l'oratoire de la Congrégation sous le titre de l'Assomption de la Très Sainte Vierge, le 29 mars 1694 ... "

L'impression date d'avant 1800 car on lit sur le plat intérieur de la couverture l'inscription manuscrite qui suit: Ad usum congregationis Collegii Marianapolitanensis .... 1800" Les caractères sont semblables à ceux ordinairement employés par Mesplet, et il y a tout lieu de croire que le livret est sorti de ses presses. Il est vrai qu' Edwards, en acquérant l'atelier de Mesplet a acquis les mêmes caractères, mais nous ne connaissons pas d'imprimé français sorti de l'atelier d'Edwards en dehors de sa Gazette bilingue, et il est peu probable qu'une semblable commande ait été donnée par le Séminaire de Saint-Sulpice à d'autres qu'à Mesplet.

Exemplaire connu: Collège de Montréal.

Tableau des rues et Faubourgs de Montréal. [70]

20×29 cm. 1 feuille.

Cet ancêtre du Directory de Montréal doit dater de 1788 d'après certains indices. Il ne porte pas de nom d'imprimeur, mais il a été certainement imprimé par Mesplet, car on signale sa présence dans l'Inventaire de ses effets dressé après sa mort en 1794.

Exemplaire connu: Bibliothèque Saint-Sulpice, Montréal.

BIBL.
SHL
WITHDRAWN

The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America

VOLUME TWENTY-EIGHT · 1934
PART ONE

Certain Writings of Benjamin Franklin on the British Empire and the American Colonies
VERNER W. CRANE

James Adams: The First Printer of Delaware
DOROTHY LAWSON HAWKINS

"Gazette françôise," Newport, R.I., 1780-81
ALLEN J. BARTHOLD

The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America

PUBLICATION COMMITTEE

JAMES B. CHILDS - Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
CARL B. RODEN - - - - Chicago Public Library
ANDREW KEOGH - - - - Yale University Library
H. H. B. MEYER - - - - - Library of Congress

The Society does not hold itself responsible for opinions expressed by contributors of papers

COPYRIGHT 1934 BY THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO. ALL RIGHTS RESERVED. PUBLISHED MAY 1934. 550 COPIES PRINTED.
COMPOSED AND PRINTED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, U.S.A.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS, CHICAGO
THE BAKER & TAYLOR CO., NEW YORK; THE CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS, LONDON; THE MARUZEN-KABUSHIKI-KAISHA, TOKYO, OSAKA, KYOTO, FUKUOKA, SENDAI; THE COMMERCIAL PRESS, LIMITED, SHANGHAI

The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America

• •

THE BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY OF AMERICA, which was founded in 1904 during the Conference of Librarians at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, on the initiative of the Bibliographical Society of Chicago, has for its object the promotion of bibliographical research and the printing of bibliographical productions. In 1927 the Society was incorporated, and in 1929 was admitted to representation in the American Council of Learned Societies. The Society has met semi-annually since 1904. The annual meeting is ordinarily held in connection with the American Library Association. A winter meeting is frequently held in connection with the American Historical Association. At these meetings many papers of interest to bibliographers, book collectors, and librarians have been read, and these have been published in the volumes of the Society's PAPERS.

Any person interested in the object of the Society and approved by the Council may become a member upon payment of $3.00 a year. Names may be submitted to any officer of the Society.

The treasurer is Frederick W. Faxon, 83 Francis St., Boston, Mass.

•

THE PAPERS OF THE SOCIETY are published at The University of Chicago Press, 5750–58 Ellis Ave., Chicago, Ill. The subscription price is $4.00 per year.

COMMUNICATIONS concerning editorial matters may be addressed to the Chairman of the Publication Committee, James B. Childs, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

CORRESPONDENCE concerning yearly subscriptions and single copies may be addressed to The University of Chicago Press, 5750–58 Ellis Ave., Chicago, Ill. Patrons are requested to make all remittances payable to The University of Chicago Press in postal or express money orders or bank drafts.

THE FOLLOWING REPRESENTATIVES of The University of Chicago Press are authorized to quote the prices indicated:

For the British Empire, except Canada and Australia: The Cambridge University Press, Fetter Lane, London, E.C. 4, England. Price of yearly subscription may be had on application.

For Japan and Korea: The Maruzen-Kabushiki-Kaisha, 6 Nihonbashi Tori Sanchome, Tokyo, Japan. Yearly subscriptions, including postage, Yen 8.40.

For China: The Commercial Press, Limited, Shanghai. Yearly subscriptions, including postage, $4.15 each.

CLAIMS for missing numbers should be made promptly. The publishers expect to supply missing numbers only when they have been lost in transit.

[PRINTED IN U.S.A.]

Papers of the

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY *of* AMERICA

are available for the years 1906 and 1907, 1910 to and including 1922, and 1925 to the current volume (1933). There is also an INDEX TO THE PUBLICATIONS OF THE BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY OF AMERICA, 1899–1931 (Vols. I–XXV). The price of the INDEX is $2.00 for members of the Society; $2.50 to non-members. The publications of the Society may be ordered by non-members from The University of Chicago Press, 5750 Ellis Avenue, Chicago. Members of the Society desiring to purchase any back numbers should apply to its Treasurer.